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OUTLINES OF ANCIENT HISTORY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF
THE WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 476

EMBRACING THE
EGYPTIANS, CHALDÆANS, ASSYRIANS
BABYLONIANS, HEBREWS, PHENICIANS, MEDES
PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND ROMANS

DESIGNED FOR PRIVATE READING AND AS A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION

BY
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"LIFE AND NATURE UNDER THE TROPICS"

NEW YORK
HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE

1882

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PREFACE.

IT is a very general complaint that the Manuals of History put into the hands of students are dry and uninteresting. The complaint is not unfounded. Such introductory works are too often mere crowded inventories of events, and so not only fail of awakening an intelligent interest in what should be the most engaging of studies, but repel and dishearten the student. If this fault has been avoided, and the narrative is connected and interesting, still the perspective is almost sure to be false and misleading, and the picture of early times foreshortened and distorted. Usually all that lies back of Grecian annals is compressed into a few pages, where everything is lost—or rather brought into being—in a sort of creative nimbus. Indeed, in several works in extensive use in our schools, that vast background is treated as a kind of Hyperborean region, being filled indiscriminately with all manner of myths and legends, until there is no more rational connection between the story thus told of the men and agencies of those early times and the history of later periods than exists between the double writings of the palimpsest. One of our objects, then, in preparing the present volume is to join hands with those who are laboring to turn that period to use in education, and give it that character and prominence in the manual which it has assumed in the larger works of all our best historical scholars.

Moreover, we conceive History to be a worthier thing than a trivial record of court intrigues and genealogies. So sometimes, departing from precedent, we have devoted more space

to giving an account of the growing arts, sciences, literature, or religion of a people than to the recital of the doings of their rulers. The dynastic or political annals of a nation are often of the least possible interest and importance. We think, and have acted upon the thought, that the character and work of a Moses, a Solon, or a Lycurgus have been far more potent elements in the formation of the complex product we call Civilization, and therefore more worthy of a place in our thoughts as students of a growing humanity, than the petty wars and intrigues of kings and emperors, whose only claim upon our attention is that the accidents of history have made them titled personages. It is only when, through force of character or circumstances, they become in fact representative men that we have shown much concern respecting them or their doings.

The plan of our work combines, as will be seen, the ethnological and chronological methods—the former, however, having been allowed to exert the greater influence upon the arrangement. The ethnological treatment of history has been compared to the tracing separately of each tributary of a great river system from its source to its union with the main stream; while the chronological or synchronistic plan has been likened to working down all the streams at once, by constant crossing and recrossing from valley to valley. A close adherence to the latter gives a confused and fragmentary view of the subject; hence our preference for the former. When once upon an historic stream, we have followed it to its junction with the principal current, or to where some sub-tributary has joined it of such size and importance as to induce us to turn aside, in order to explore the sources and character of the new affluent. We have thus been enabled to secure a continuity and simplicity of narrative which we are sure will be appreciated by those who have had experience in guiding scholars amidst the bewildering and hopeless interlacings of synchronistically arranged text-books.

The division of the text into distinctly marked paragraphs

will be found, we think, to add very much to the value of the book as a manual of instruction. Under each sub-head is placed as much matter as naturally gathers there, so that, when any particular passage has been once carefully read, the heading will afterwards recall the contents of the entire paragraph.

We have avoided the extensive use of foot-notes, being convinced that any matter which it is desirable to bring to the notice of the student should be incorporated with the text, where it may meet the eye without the attention being drawn from the narrative. References to authorities which it was our first intention to insert in place we have been led to omit, both on account of the growing size of the book and also because of the conviction that to the great majority of the readers of such a general sketch they could be of no real value; therefore, in this place we wish to acknowledge, in the most ample manner possible, our special and frequent indebtedness to the following authors and works: Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies;" Lenormant and Chevallier's "History of the East;" Milman's "History of the Jews;" Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians;" Grote's, Thirlwall's, and Smith's works on Grecian history; Arnold's, Mommsen's, Niebuhr's, Merivale's, Liddell's, and Leighton's histories of Rome; Long's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Republic;" Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" Smith's "Rome and Carthage;" Froude's "Cæsar;" Guhl and Koner's "Life of the Greeks and Romans;" Hadley's "Introduction to Roman Law;" and Dunlop's, Cruttwell's, Eugene Lawrence's, and Charles Morris's histories and manuals of Greek and Roman Literature.

COLLEGE HILL, O., *July*, 1882.

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ANCIENT HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE RACES AND THEIR EARLY MIGRATIONS.

Introduction.—History is a narrative of events so told as to show the origin and growth of customs and manners, of arts and sciences, of government and religion, among men. For convenience, History is divided into three periods—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern. Ancient History begins with the first appearance of man upon the earth, and extends to the fall of the Western Roman Empire, A.D. 476. Mediæval History embraces the period, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, A.D. 1492. Modern History commences with the close of the Mediæval period and extends to the present time.

Antiquity of Man.—We do not know when man first came into possession of the earth. His antiquity, like the age of the planet he inhabits, is shrouded in obscurity. But as the science of geology has taught us that the earth is very old, much older than we once thought, so different sciences are telling us that man has been upon the earth a much longer time than we had inferred from a wrong interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis. Yet we can set no definite date to his first appearance. We only know that when the historic curtain first rises, about 3000 B.C., vast migratory movements,

manifestly begun long before that date, are going on among the families and tribes of the different races of mankind; and that in some favored regions, as in the Valley of the Nile, are nations and civilizations already venerable with age, and possessing arts, governments, and institutions that bear evidence of slow growth through very long periods of prehistoric times.

The Races of Mankind.—Distinctions in form, color, and physiognomy divide the human species into four great types, or races, known as the Black (Ethiopian), the Red (American), the Yellow (Mongolian), and the White (Caucasian). These races subdivide themselves into families; and these, again, into nations, tribes, and clans. As to which of these great races is the oldest, or the original type, we have no positive knowledge; however, many testimonies—ethnological, linguistic, and historical—concur in leading us to assume that they all stand in the relation of children to an original mother-type that is lost.

We must not suppose these four types to be sharply marked off each from all the others: they shade into one another by insensible gradations. Thus, passing from the temperate regions of Northern Africa to the tropical countries of the interior of that continent, we find the different tribes encountered exhibiting a "chromatic scale" that embraces all the shades of color, from the slightly bronzed Caucasian to the jet-black negro. Yet we know that those race characteristics to which we have referred, though capable of being greatly modified by climate and the varying conditions of life, are very persistent. There has been no perceptible change in the great types during historic times. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history, about five thousand years ago, the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy. As early as the times of Jeremiah, the permanency of physical characteristics had passed into the proverb, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"

On account of this persistent character of form, complexion, and physiognomy, these physical distinctions form a better basis of classification than language; for migrations and conquests often result in a people's giving up their own and adopting a foreign tongue, while at the same time retaining all their physical peculiarities. To efface these requires a great lapse of time. Thus the Jews have in general adopted the languages of the different peoples among whom they have found a home; but the Hebrew physiognomy is as marked to-day as it was three thousand years ago. Still we must not forget that any classification which we may make, ethnic or linguistic, is rather convenient than absolutely accurate.

The White Race and its Families.—The White race exhibits the most perfect type, physically, intellectually, and morally, of all the varieties of mankind. It is the race with which we shall be almost exclusively concerned, as the first three races—the Black, the Red, and the Yellow—have scarcely assumed any part in the drama of history. Possessing richer mental and spiritual endowments than the other races, and animated, in most of its branches, with a wonderful energy, the migrations and conquests of its different peoples, and the achievements of its various families in the fields of science, art, literature, philosophy, and religion, fill most of the pages of the historian, and render instructive the story he has to tell.

This type subdivides itself into four great families—the Turanian, the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan, or Indo-European (formerly called Japhetic). Each of these branches includes a large number of nations and tribes. In intellectual and spiritual gifts, these families rank inversely as named above. The Turanians have never evinced any aptitude for the arts and sciences, or love for the higher walks of culture; while the last three, in the order mentioned, have been successively the standard-bearers of the constantly advancing culture and civilization of the world.

The Turanian Tribes.—The Turanian family includes many and widely separated nations and tribes, which occupy a great part of Northern and Central Asia and large regions in Europe. Among its chief peoples may be enumerated the Turks, Huns, Hungarians, Tartars, Avars, Esthonians, Finns, Lapps, Iberians, and Basques. In the remotest times the peoples of this race had spread themselves over all Europe and Asia. They were the first intruders upon these virgin continents, save in some quarters, as in India, where they seem to have encountered a still earlier negro population. Whence they came, or at how early a period they took possession of the continents, we cannot say; we are only certain that when, between 2000 and 3000 B.C., the Semites and Aryans left their overcrowded homes in Central Asia, and went out in search of new abodes, everywhere they went, in India, in Persia, in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and in Europe, they found tribes of this family already in possession of the soil.

These aboriginal inhabitants were either exterminated or absorbed by the new-comers. In Europe, however, two small areas of this primitive population escaped the common fate—the Basques sheltered among the Pyrenees, and the Finns and Lapps in the far North. (Some consider the Etrurians in Italy as another remnant of the same race.) These little patches of primitive population have been likened to islands rising above the waters of a destructive inundation. The Hungarians and Turks are Turanian peoples that have thrust themselves into Europe during historic times.

The rude stone implements found in the caves and river-gravels of Western Europe; the shell-mounds, or kitchen-middens, upon the shores of the Baltic; and the Swiss lake-habitations, are supposed to be relics of this prehistoric race.

The Hamitic Peoples.—The Hamites are called the pioneers in art, science, and government. They embraced the earliest communities that emerged from barbarism—the Cushites, or

Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the early Chaldæans, and the Canaanites. We shall see hereafter in how great a degree the Semites and Aryans were indebted to this race for the germs of their learning and culture.

As in the case of the Turanians, we are without any positive knowledge respecting the original seats of the Hamites and their prehistoric migrations. In the very first dawn of historic time, we discover the chief peoples of this race already in place: the Egyptians are settled in the Valley of the Nile, the Cushites in Ethiopia and Southern Arabia, and the Chaldæans are building great cities in the lowlands of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Some think that in the dim historic twilight the ancestors of the Canaanites and the Phœnicians (earlier) may be descried moving from the shores of the Persian Gulf across the Mesopotamian plains, towards the hill country of Palestine.

The Semitic Nations.—The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Hebrews, the later Phœnicians, and the Arabians. Many testimonies point to the hill country (Armenia) bordering the Valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates on the north, as the original abode of this family. From that region its clans and tribes pushed southward, and in time distributed themselves over the greater part of Southwestern Asia.

In the upper portion of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley, they established the great Assyrian Empire, which for many centuries held proud sway over all the peoples between the hills of Persia and the Mediterranean. In the lowland country of the same river-basin, they mingled with the Hamites, already in possession of the soil, and formed the mixed people of the later Babylonian Empire. The evidence of language and other testimonies also lead some to believe that other portions of the same race penetrated into Egypt in the most remote times, and blended their blood and culture with the Hamitic people of the Nile Valley.

We possess more definite knowledge of the movements of another branch of this family. About 2000 B.C., differences in religious belief led a Semitic tribe, called the Abrahamic, to separate itself from kindred clans then dwelling near the head of the Persian Gulf, and go out in search of new abodes. Their patriarch Abraham, who was inspired with a lofty faith in the God whom he served, led this little company across the Mesopotamian plains, and up into the country now called Palestine. The little band became in time strong enough to drive out or exterminate the Canaanitish (Hamitic) inhabitants of the land, and grew into the great Hebrew nation, which was destined to exert a moulding influence upon the religion and civilization of the world.

It was not until the beginning of the Mediæval period that the Arabian tribes assumed any important part in the transactions of history. Then, under the name of Saracens, and as teachers of a new faith, called from its founder Mohammedanism, they issued from the deserts of the Arabian peninsula, and swiftly spread their authority and religion over all the countries of Western Asia and large parts of Africa.

The varied movements of the Semites, their displacement of the Hamites, and their comminglings with these earlier peoples, render it extremely difficult to classify the nations that arose in the regions where these two families, or races, touched and overlapped each other. Especially is this true in the case of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Chaldæans. By some, all these peoples have been declared to be Semitic; while others have called them all Hamitic. From the evidence we now possess, we must think of the original settlers of Egypt, Chaldæa, and probably Phœnicia, as Hamites, who were afterwards Semitized by the different Semitic peoples with whom they came in contact and blended.

The Aryan Family.—The Aryan, or Indo-European, though probably the youngest, is the most widely scattered family of

the White race. It includes among its members the ancient Hindus, the Medes and Persians, the classic Greeks and Romans, and the modern descendants of all these nations; also the Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic peoples of Europe, and their colonists that have peopled the New World, and taken possession of other parts of the earth. This is the family to which we ourselves belong.

Migrations of the Aryans.—The original seats of the Aryan peoples were the highlands of Central Asia, east of the Caspian Sea and north of the Hindu Kush Mountains. This upland country, now for the most part arid and uninviting, was in remote times a delightful region that drew forth unbounded praise from the early Aryan poets. Gradual changes in the climate, which rendered the country inhospitable, pressure of population, and religious disputes and wars caused the Aryan household, at a period that cannot be placed later than 3000 B.C., to begin to break up and scatter, and the different clans and tribes to set out in search of new dwelling-places.

One branch of the family, called the Indo-Iranic, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians, turning from the primitive home, moved southward, and, for a long time after separation from the other members of the household, lived together as one family, united in a single faith and worship. But difference in religious belief arising, caused, it is supposed, by the teachings of the great prophet Zoroaster, the company was divided into two bands, which parted abruptly the one from the other. One of these, holding on their way to the south, climbed the snowypasses of the Hindu Kush, which lay in their path, and, descending upon the plains beyond, drove out the Turanian tribes they found occupying the land, and became the ancestors of the Hindus. The other company turned to the southwest, and, spreading themselves over the table-lands of Iran, became the progenitors of the Medes and Persians.

About the time of these migrations to the south and south-

west, other clans set their faces towards Europe. The journey of these families was long and eventful. The stream of migration that set in this direction was divided into two branches. One division skirted the southern shore of the Euxine, and, entering Europe by the way of the Hellespont or over the thickly strewn islands of the *Ægean*, pushed themselves into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy, and founded the Greek and Roman nations.

The second division passed to the north of the Black Sea, and, crossing the rivers that lay in their path, poured into Central Europe. The vanguard of these tribes are known as the Celts. After them came the Germanic tribes, who crowded the former out on the westernmost edge of Europe—up into the corners of France and out upon the British Isles. These hard-pressed Celts are represented to-day by the Welsh, the Irish, and the Highland Scots. Behind the Germanic peoples were the Slavonic folk, who pushed the former hard against the Celts, and, when they could urge them no farther to the west, finally settled down and became the ancestors of the Russians, Bohemians, Poles, Servians, and other kindred nations.

Although these migratory movements of the various clans and tribes of this wonderful Aryan family commenced in the early morning of history, some five thousand years ago, still we must not think of them as something past and unrelated to the present. These movements, begun in those remote times, are still going on. The overflow of the population of Europe into the different regions of the New World is simply a continuance of the outpourings of the primitive Aryan household into the surrounding countries.

Everywhere the other races have given way before the advance of the Aryan peoples, or have been absorbed by them. Having possessed themselves of the riches of the Hamitic and Semitic civilizations—having made their own the wisdom of the Egyptians, the arts of the Assyrians, the religion of the Hebrews—they have assumed the position of teachers among the

families of mankind, and are rapidly spreading their arts and sciences and culture over the earth.

Early Culture of the Aryans.—One of the most fascinating studies of recent growth is that which reveals to us the customs and beliefs of the early Aryan peoples while their ancestors were yet living together as a single household in Central Asia. Upon comparing the myths, legends, ballads, and nursery tales of the different Aryan peoples, we discover the curious fact that, under various disguises, they are the same. Jack the Giant-killer with his seven-league boots is identical with Mercury with his winged sandals. William Tell with his unerring aim is the archer-god Apollo with his “twanging bow.” And many of our nursery tales are found to be identical with those with which the Hindu children are amused. But the discovery should not surprise us. We and the Hindus are kinsmen, children of the same home ; so now, when after a long separation we meet, the tales we tell are the same, for they are the stories that were told around the common hearth-fire of our Aryan forefathers.

And when we compare certain words in different Aryan languages, we often find them alike in form and meaning ; hence we infer that these words were used in the primitive household. Such words, preserved in the strata of language, are to the philologist what fossils, buried in the strata of the earth, are to the geologist. Each has a story to tell. Thus take our word *daughter*. This occurs with little change of form in several of the Aryan tongues (Sanskrit, or old Hindu, *duhit*or; Zend, or old Persian, *dughdhor*; Teutonic, or German, *dught*or). Now, in Sanscrit, which language has preserved most unchanged the ancient Aryan speech, this word means a milk-maid. Here, then, we have two facts : that the cow or goat had been domesticated by our ancestors before they left Central Asia ; and that the girls of the family tended and milked the herds.

Our knowledge of the prehistoric culture of the Aryans, thus gained by the science of comparative philology and mythology, may be summed up as follows: They possessed a simple monotheistic faith, or belief in a Supreme Being, whom they called the Heaven-Father (Dyaus-Pitar). They had advanced beyond the nomadic state—were farmers and herdsmen, and dwelt in towns defended by walls. "Their wealth was reckoned in cows, and cows were the circulating medium, with sheep and pigs for small change." They introduced these animals, as well as the horse, goat, and dog, into Europe. (The Turanian people whom they displaced had no domestic animals.) They kept bees and got intoxicated upon a beverage made from the honey. "Their wheat was cut with the sickle, threshed and winnowed, and carried to mill in wagons fitted with wheels and axletrees. The blacksmith's work, with hammer and anvil and forge and bellows, was also carried on. Sewing and spinning were feminine occupations, and garments were woven out of sheep's wool. The art of tanning was also practised, and leather shoes were worn" (Fiske).

They were fair builders, and navigated the rivers and inland seas of their regions with canoes or skiffs. They rode in wagons, but did not ride horseback. They were versed in the art of war, and had made beginnings in astronomy and mathematics. The father was head of the family, in which the wife held an honored position. The children were given names expressive of love and endearment. The families were united to form village-communities, ruled by a chief, or patriarch, who was assisted by a council of seven. These village-communities again united to form clans or tribes, at the head of which was a king, or feudal lord, chosen from among the patriarchs. This "people's father" was consecrated to his office by being seated on a stone, a custom still preserved in the coronation of the sovereigns of England.* From the decision of the king, who was

* The early Scottish monarchs were crowned at Scone on the Tay. The

also judge of his people, an appeal could be made, by the ordeal of fire and water, to the judgment of Heaven.

Importance of Aryan Studies.—This picture of life in the early Aryan home, the elements of which are gathered in so novel a way, is of the very greatest historical value and interest. In these customs and beliefs of the early Aryans, we discover the germs of many of the institutions of modern European nations. Thus, in the honored position assigned the wife in the Aryan household are prefigured the institutions of European chivalry; and in the council of seven around the village patriarch, political historians trace the beginnings of the Parliament of England.

Just as the teachings of the parental roof mould the life and character of the children that go out from under its discipline, so have the influences of that early Aryan home shaped the habits, institutions, and character of those peoples and families that, as its children, went out to establish new homes in their "appointed habitations."

coronation ceremony was performed by seating the king upon a stone. Edward I., having conquered the Scots, carried the sacred stone to England, and it now forms the seat of the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey.

Note to Table on page 12.

• The peoples of modern Germany are the descendants of various Teutonic tribes. The Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes represent the Scandinavian branch of the Germanic family. The Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch Highlanders are the representatives of the ancient Celts. The French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians have sprung from a blending of the Celts, the ancient Romans, and the Germanic tribes that thrust themselves within the limits of the Western Roman Empire. The English are the descendants of the Angles and Saxons, slightly modified by contact and interminglings with the Celts, Danes, and Normans.

RACES OF MANKIND WITH CHIEF FAMILIES AND TRIBES.

Black (Negro)	Tribes of Central and Southern Africa, the Papuans, and the Australians.
Red (American)	The Indian tribes of North and South America. Many ethnologists reckon this group as a sub-branch of the following Mongolian race).
Yellow (Mongolian)	The chief peoples of this race are the Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, Tibetans, Mongol Tartars, and the Malays (then classified as a distinct race).

	Turks
	Franks
	Indians
	Dravidians
Parthian or Scythian	Arms
	Fins
	Lapps
	Basques
	German
	Canaanites
	Chaldeans (earlier)
Hamitic	Cushites
	Egyptians
	Arabians
	Assyrians
Semitic	Hebrews
	Babylonians (later)
	Phoenicians (later)
	Indians
	Hindus
	Persians
	Medes
	Greeks
	Romans
	Celtic
	Gauls
	Britons
	Goths
	Franks
	Herali
	Bovarians
	Barbarians
	Barbarians
	Almanic
	Vandalic
	Germanic or Teutonic
Asian or Indo-European	

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

(From unknown antiquity to 525 B.C.)

Egypt and the Nile.—The ancient writers, who often put much meaning in a phrase, called Egypt “the gift of the Nile.” Before historic times, what is now the Great Sahara was covered by the waters of the Atlantic. Geologic changes at last lifted the rocky sea-floor—covered, for the most part, with a heavy mantle of sand—and it became the Libyan Desert. The Nile then flowed through a long, narrow, hill-bordered valley to the Mediterranean. At each annual rise of the river, caused by the tropical summer rains among the Abyssinian mountains, a thin layer of sediment was deposited over the narrow strip of submerged land along either bank of the stream.* Not until from forty to seventy feet of sediment had been laid down upon the limestone floor of the valley did it become the seat of that wonderful civilization whose monuments have come down to us; although from fragments of pottery found in the very lowest strata of the river sediment, we know the valley to have been occupied many ages before that time by a ruder people.

Besides covering with a deep soil the bottom of its narrow valley, it has also built up at its mouth a great delta, through which it now seeks the sea by several different channels. This country was known to the ancients as Lower

varying breadth from two to eleven miles. The rate of subsidence is from three to five inches in a century. The country is now almost entirely level. The knowledge of the monuments, has been lost for many hundred years.

Egypt ; while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the delta to the First Cataract, a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Inundation of the Nile.—Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized. The Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and by the end of September, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of an inland sea, with the villages of the natives, which are built upon artificial hills or protected by dikes, rising like little islands above the water. By the end of November the river has returned to its bed ; and the fields, over which has been spread a film of rich earth, are left black, reeking morasses.

Upon this soft, yielding surface, even while still covered in places with pools of water, the grain is sown, and sometimes simply trampled in by flocks of sheep or goats. In a few weeks the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast with the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

Climate.—In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant ; but the climate of Upper Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers falling throughout the year. This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousands of years, in such wonderful freshness of color and with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the palaces and tombs of the Pharaohs.

The southern line of Egypt only just touches the tropics ; still the climate, influenced by the wide and hot deserts that hem the valley, is semi-tropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow luxuriantly. Thus favored in climate as well as in matter of irrigation, Egypt became in early times the granary of the East. To it

less favored countries, when stricken by famine—a calamity so common in the East in regions dependent upon the rainfall—looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

Cataracts of the Nile.—About seven hundred miles from the Mediterranean a low ledge of rocks, stretching across the Nile, forms the first obstruction to navigation in passing up the river. The rapids found at this point are termed the First Cataract. Six other cataracts occur in the next seven hundred miles of the river's course. The sacred islands of Elephantine and Philæ lie, the former just below, and the latter just above, the First Cataract. One hundred miles below Elephantine, the limestone hills recede from the river in such a way as to form an amphitheatral plain about twelve miles across. This region is called the Thebaid, and is now filled with the ruins of "hundred-gated Thebes."

South of the First Cataract lay Ethiopia, a land of very shadowy boundaries. The northern part of the region was debatable ground between the Ethiopians and the Egyptians; yet during the best days of the Pharaohs they extended their authority permanently far beyond the first rapids, as is attested by the ruins that line the banks of the Upper Nile—the designation given the river above the First Cataract.

Dynasties and Chronology.—The kings, or Pharaohs, that reigned in Egypt from the earliest times till the conquest of the country by Alexander (333 B.C.), are grouped into thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who wrote a history of Egypt, compiled from the manuscripts kept in the archives of the Egyptian temples. Unfortunately, all of this work is lost save mere fragments. One of these contains the lists referred to. In connection with each dynasty Manetho gives the length of the reign of the family, and usually the names of the kings.

We cannot assign a positive date to the beginning of the first dynasty; for Egyptologists are at a loss to know whether to consider the dynasties of Manetho's list as all successive or in part contemporaneous. Thus, it is held by some scholars that several of these families were reigning at the same time in This, Elephantine, Thebes, Memphis, Tanis, and Saïs—the different capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt; while others think that they all reigned at different epochs, and that the sum of the lengths of the several dynasties gives us the true date of the beginning of the era of Menes. Accordingly, Mariette and Lenormant place the beginning of the first dynasty at 5004 B.C., and others still earlier,* while Poole and Wilkinson put it at about 2700 B.C. The constantly growing evidence of the monuments is in favor of the higher figures.†

As in journeying up the Nile the traveller passes without delay the long, monotonous reaches of the river, and only stops when his attention is arrested by a group of famous pyramids or the ruins of some celebrated temple, so shall we pass without notice the long, uneventful periods in these thirty-one dynasties, and only stop when we reach some great name, some important conquest, or some significant event. These shall be our landmarks along this great dynastic stream, which flows through more than half the historic centuries of the world.

Menes, Founder of the Old Empire.—Menes is the first kingly personage, shadowy and indistinct in form, that we discover in

* A comparison of authorities will be interesting. Böckh gives as the date of Menes 5702; Unger, 5613; Brugsch, 4455; Lauth, 4157; Lepsius, 3852; Bunsen, 3623—later 3059; Poole, 2717; Wilkinson, 2691.

† "The scholars who have attempted to compress the dates given by Manetho have never yet been able to produce one single monument to prove that two dynasties named in his lists as successive were contemporary. On the contrary, there are abundant proofs, collected by very many Egyptologers, to convince us that all the royal races enumerated by the Sebennytic priest occupied the throne in succession."—MARIETTE.

the first dawn of Egyptian history. This king holds the same relation to the beginnings of political life and organized society in the Valley of the Nile that Nimrod sustains to these same matters in the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tradition makes him the founder of Memphis, near the head of the Delta, the site of which capital he secured against the inundations of the Nile by vast dikes and various engineering works. To him is ascribed the achievement of first consolidating the numerous petty principalities of Lower Egypt into a single state, known as the Old Empire, which existed with varying fortunes for at least a thousand years.

The Pyramid Kings (about 2400 B.C.).—The kings of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis, are called the Pyramid-builders. "With them the real history of Egypt begins." Tradition and the monuments here unite their testimony. Suphis (Khufu) I., the Cheops of the Greeks, was the first great builder. To him we can now positively ascribe the building of the Great Pyramid, the largest of the Gizeh group; for his name has been found upon some of the stones,—painted on them by his workmen before the blocks were taken from the quarries.

Others of this famous group of pyramids were raised by Shafra and Menkara, successors of Cheops. To some king of this family is also ascribed the sculpture of the Sphinx at the foot of the Great Pyramid. The most astonishing feature of the monuments of these early Pharaohs is the remarkable perfection of the sciences and arts exhibited in their construction. A competent judge declares that they have never been surpassed.

These mountains of stone heaped together by the Pyramid kings are proof that they were cruel oppressors of their people, and burdened them with useless labor upon these monuments of their ambition. Tradition tells how the very memory of these monarchs was hated by the people. The statues of Shafra, the builder of the second pyramid of the Gizeh group, have

been discovered, broken into small pieces, at the bottom of a well near the Sphinx, into which the enraged people had thrown them during a political revolution soon after his death.

The Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings (from about 2100 to 1650 B.C.*).—While the kings of the old Memphian Empire were ruling in Lower Egypt, and building the Great Pyramids, another monarchy was growing up at Thebes, which gradually pushed its authority towards the Delta. Other states also sprang up, and the little country of Egypt was divided into not less than five petty principalities, and thus prevented from using its undivided strength to repel invasion.

Such united effort was needed ; for just at this time the nomadic tribes of Syria, probably headed by the Hittites, being hard-pushed by the growing empires of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley, crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt, took possession of the inviting pasture-lands of the Delta, and established there the Empire of the Shepherd Kings. These rulers gradually extended their authority up the Nile, and the Theban kings were forced to seek refuge in Ethiopia—a country, as we have already seen, lying astride the Upper Nile.

These Asiatic intruders, “Tartars of the South,” as they have been called, were rude and barbarous, and destroyed or mutilated the monuments of the conquered Egyptians. Not a single temple was spared. For about four hundred years (some say two hundred) these foreigners held sway in the valley, and this period is almost a blank in the records and monuments of the country. It constitutes what has been called the “Middle Ages” of Egyptian history.

* These figures are those of Lenormant. But much uncertainty attaches to the date for the beginning of the reign of the Hyksos. Rawlinson says : “The author is strongly convinced of the shortness of the Shepherd period, and cannot bring himself to assign to it a duration of above two centuries. He regards it as commencing about B.C. 1840, and terminating B.C. 1640” (“Hist. of Ancient Egypt,” vol. ii. p. 22).

It was during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt. They received a kind reception from the Shepherd kings, not only because they were of the same pastoral habits, but also probably because of near kinship in race ; for it appears that, whatever may have been the original ethnic affinities of the invading tribes, they were partly or wholly Semitized before they entered Egypt.

At last these intruders were expelled by the Theban kings, and driven back into Asia. This occurred about 1650 B.C. The episode of the Shepherd kings in Egypt derives great importance from the fact that these nomadic peoples, while in the valley, adopted the manners and customs of the Egyptians, and became acquainted with their arts and sciences, so that when driven out, as in the case of the children of Israel at a later period, they carried this knowledge, including the germs of alphabetical writing, with them, and through the wide commercial relations of the Phœnicians spread the same among all the early nations of the Mediterranean area. Thus Egypt became indirectly the instructor of Greece and Rome.

Amosis, Founder of the New Empire (about 1650 B.C.).—The revolt which drove the Hyksos from the country was led by Amosis, or Ahmes, a descendant of the Theban kings. He delivered the entire valley between the cataracts and the sea from the invaders, and restored the temples and monuments that had suffered from the rudeness of the conquerors. He was the first king of what is known as the Eighteenth Dynasty. The most eventful period of Egyptian history, covered by what is called the New Empire, now opens. Architecture and learning seem to have recovered at a bound from their long depression under the domination of the Shepherd kings. To free his empire from the danger of another invasion from Asia, Amosis determined to subdue the Syrian and Mesopotamian tribes. This foreign policy, followed out by his successors, shaped many of the events of their reigns.

Thothmes III. (about 1600 B.C.).—Thothmes has been called the greatest of the Pharaohs. He was at least a great warrior, and during his reign the frontiers of the empire reached their greatest expansion. His authority extended from the oases of the Libyan Desert to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. He built a strong fortress upon the latter river at Carchemish, added both Nineveh and Babylon to his kingdom, and exacted tribute and hostages from the various Mesopotamian princes. Tablets cut in the rocks, and various monuments commemorative of his conquests, are scattered from Algeria, in Northern Africa, to the Armenian Mountains, in Asia, and are found far up the Nile, in Abyssinia.

Thothmes was also a magnificent builder. His architectural works in the Valley of the Nile were almost numberless. There was scarcely a city in Egypt that he did not decorate with temple or palace or obelisk. He built also a great part of the Temple of Karnak at Thebes, the remains of which form the most majestic ruin in the world. All his monuments are literally covered with sculptures and inscriptions—records of his numerous expeditions and great works.

Amunoph III.—This name stands next after that of Thothmes III. as one of the great sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although, like his rival, a famous warrior, still it is the remains of his splendid buildings, scattered over the sites of the ancient capitals of Egypt, that have given him so prominent a place in Egyptian history. He added to the Temple of Karnak, and erected portions of the superb Palace of Luxor, which was joined to the former edifice by a grand avenue lined with a thousand colossal sphinxes. To him, too, is ascribed the erection at Thebes of the celebrated colossus known as the Vocal Memnon.

Rameses II. (about 1400 B.C.).—Rameses II., surnamed the Great, was the Sesostris of the Greeks. His is the most promi-

nent name of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Ancient writers, in fact, accorded him the first place among all the Egyptian sovereigns, and told mythical and most exaggerated stories of his conquests and achievements. His long reign, embracing sixty-six years, was, indeed, well occupied with military expeditions and the superintendence of great architectural works. But the empire of the Pharaohs had already passed to its culmination, and all Rameses's efforts were directed to upholding its falling fortunes. Fear of an invasion by the tribes of Syria led him to reduce to a position of grinding servitude the Semitic peoples that under former dynasties had been permitted to settle in Lower Egypt; for this Nineteenth Dynasty, to which Rameses II. belongs, was the new king (dynasty) that arose "which knew not Joseph," and oppressed the children of Israel. Especially was it under this monarch that their "lives were made bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." Papyri recently interpreted tell us that the Hebrews were the builders of the treasure-cities of "Pithom and Raamses," as recorded in Exodus.

Besides enslaving these Semitic tribes that migratory movements had brought into the Delta region, Rameses pressed to the work on his various edifices great multitudes of captives taken in his numerous wars, as well as negroes obtained by "man-hunting expeditions" into Central Africa. The native Egyptian peasants were also vexed by heartless taskmasters, taxes, extortions, and cruel punishments. As Dr. Smith observes, "The epithet 'Great' is, as usual in history, but the tribute rendered by the weak judgment of men to arrogant despotism and barbaric pomp. . . . We may venture to call him the Louis XIV. of the Egyptian monarchy; and 'after him came the deluge.'" It was during the reign of his son Menephtha that the Exodus took place.

Psammetik I. (625-610 B.C.).—We pass without comment a long period of several centuries, marked, indeed, by great vicis-

situdes in the fortunes of the Egyptian monarchs, yet characterized throughout by a sure and rapid decline in the power and splendor of their empire. During the last one hundred years of this period, Egypt was, for the most part, tributary to the Assyrian kings. But when Nineveh fell before the Medes and Babylonians (625 B.C.), Egypt detached herself from the wreck of the empire, and a native prince, Psammetik, or Psammetichus, as he was called by the Greeks, succeeded in consolidating the many petty states into which the Assyrian conquerors had divided the country into a single well-ordered and powerful kingdom. Psammetichus thus became the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The reign of this monarch marks a new era in Egyptian history. He effected an entire and radical change in the policy of the government. Hitherto Egypt had secluded herself from the world behind barriers of jealousy, race, and pride. Psammetichus, entertaining broad and enlightened views, did just what we have seen the Mikado of Japan do so recently in his dominions: he reversed the entire policy of the past, and threw the valley open to the commerce and influences of the world. His capital, Saïs, on the Canopic branch of the Nile, forty miles from the Mediterranean, was filled with Greek citizens; and Greek mercenaries were employed in his armies. Diodorus says: "He loved Greece so much that he caused his children to be taught its language. He was the first of the Egyptian kings who opened to other nations emporia for their merchandise, and gave security to voyagers; for his predecessors had rendered Egypt inaccessible to foreigners by putting some to death, and condemning others to slavery."

This change of policy, occurring at just the period when the rising states of Greece and Rome were shaping their institutions, was a most significant event. Egypt became the University of the Mediterranean nations. From this time forward Greek philosophers, as Pythagoras and Plato, are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without ques-

tion the learning and philosophy of the ancient Egyptians exerted a profound influence upon the quick, susceptible mind of the Hellenic race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.

The liberal policy of Psammetichus, while resulting in great advantage to foreign nations, brought a heavy misfortune upon his own. Displeased with the position assigned Greek mercenaries in the army, the native Egyptian soldiers revolted, and 200,000 of the troops, embracing the larger part of the warrior class of society, which ranked next in importance to the sacerdotal order, seceded in a body, and emigrated to Ethiopia, whence no inducement which Psammetichus offered could persuade them to return.

Necho II. (610-594 B.C.).—The son of Psammetichus, Necho II., the Pharaoh-Necho of the Bible, followed the liberal policy marked out by his father. To facilitate commerce, he reopened the old canal connecting the Nile and the Red Sea—which had been cut by some former Pharaoh (probably Seti I. or Rameses II.). The lives of 120,000 of his subjects were sacrificed in the prosecution of this enterprise. But the priests, who, like the soldier class, opposed the foreign policy of this Saïte dynasty, succeeded in stopping the work by means of an unfavorable oracle.

Necho then fitted out an exploring expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, in hopes of finding a possible passage for his fleets from the Red Sea to the Nile by a water channel already opened by nature, and to which the priests and oracles could interpose no objections. The expedition, we have reason to believe, actually accomplished the feat of sailing around the continent; for Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that when they were rounding the cape the sun was on their right hand (to the north). This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us the very strongest evidence possible that the voyage was really performed. It is said, that the expedition

was absent three years ; and that, their provisions failing, the sailors landed each summer, sowed fields of grain, and, after waiting for the same to ripen, harvested the crop, and then resumed their voyage.

The Last of the Pharaohs.—Before the close of his reign Necho had come into collision with Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. That powerful monarch wrested from the Egyptian king the strong fortress of Carchemish, that watched the Euphrates. In this event was written the fate of the empire of the Nile. Henceforth the Egyptian princes were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.

Under Amasis (569–525 B.C.), however, Egypt, although a vassal state, enjoyed a short period of unusual prosperity. Diodorus says that at this time Egypt held eighteen thousand cities ; Herodotus makes the number twenty thousand. Villages and mere clusters of buildings were doubtless included in this enumeration. Yet, although the country had a large population, we must bear in mind that her military strength had been seriously weakened by the secession of the warrior class in the reign of Psammetichus. She could no longer offer formidable resistance to Asiatic conquerors.

In 525 B.C., the Persian king Cambyses invaded the Valley, defeated and put to death the successor of Amasis—his son, Psammenitus, the last of the Pharaohs—and established the Persian authority throughout the country. Upon the extension of the power of the Macedonians over the East (333 B.C.), Egypt willingly exchanged masters ; and for three centuries the Valley was the seat of the famous Græco-Egyptian Empire of the Ptolemies, which lasted until the Romans annexed the region as a province to their all-absorbing empire (30 B.C.).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE AND SUMMARY OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

		B.C.
Old Empire (embracing first seventeen dynasties)	Menes, legendary founder of the empire..	about 2700
	Great Pyramids built by kings of Fourth Dynasty.....	" 2400
	Hyksos (Asiatic invaders) overthrow the Old Empire.....	" 2100
	Shepherd Kings become masters of Egypt.	" 2100
Middle Empire (rule of the Shepherd Kings)....	Monuments of early kings destroyed or mutilated. Dark Ages of Egyptian history. During the latter part of this period the children of Israel settle in the land. Period closes with expulsion of Hyksos by Amosis, a Theban prince...	" 1650
	Amosis establishes New Empire.....	" 1650
New Empire (embracing 18th-26th dynasties).	* * * * *	
	Thothmes III., warrior and builder, reigns	" 1600
	* * * * *	
	Amunoph III., great builder.....	" 1550
	* * * * *	
	Rameses I. establishes Nineteenth Dynasty.	" 1450
	* * * * *	
	Rameses II. the Great.....	" 1400
	Menephtah (son of Rameses II.), Pharaoh of the Exodus.....	" 1350
	Sheshonk (Shishak).....	993-972
	Psammetichus I.....	625-610
	Neco (Pharaoh-Necho).....	610-594
Later History....	Psammetichus II.....	594-588
	Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra).....	588-569
	Amasis.....	569-525
	Psammenitus (reigned 6 months).....	525
	Egypt a dependency of Persian Empire...	525-332
Later History....	Alexander conquers Egypt.....	332
	Ptolemies rule in Egypt.....	325-30
	Conquest of country by Romans.....	30

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION, MONUMENTS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

Classes of Society.—Egyptian society was divided into three great classes, or orders—priests, soldiers, and common people ; the last embracing shepherds, husbandmen, and artisans. These divisions are more properly designated as classes than castes ; for the characteristic features of the latter, as existing among the Hindus, are that the members “ must abstain from certain forbidden occupations, contract no alliance beyond the limits of the caste, and must continue to practise the profession of their fathers ;” whereas among the Egyptians there were no such restrictions laid upon the two principal classes. The priest might become a soldier, and the soldier a priest, or the same person might be both at once.

The Priesthood.—The sacerdotal order formed a perfect hierarchy, consisting of high-priest, prophets, scribes, keepers of the sacred robes and animals, sacred sculptors, masons and embalmers, and a host of attendants and functionaries to care for the temples, and perform the complicated ceremonies of the national worship. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple services by the income of the sacred lands, which embraced one third of the soil of the country.

The priests were extremely scrupulous in the care of their persons. They bathed twice by day and as often by night, and shaved the entire body every third day. Their inner clothing was linen, woollen garments being thought unclean ; their

diet was plain and even abstemious, in order that, as Plutarch says, "their bodies might sit light as possible about their souls."

Perhaps to a greater degree than the priesthood of any other people did the religious teachers of the ancient Egyptians lay themselves open to the charge of deliberate and ingenious deception. They wilfully taught the people what they knew to be false. Their conduct in this respect will appear in the matter of the Sacred Apis, of which we shall have occasion to speak a little further on.

The Warrior Class.—Next to the priesthood in rank and honor stood the military order. Like the priests, the soldiers formed a landed class. They held one third of the soil of Egypt. To each soldier was given a tract of about eight acres, exempt from all taxes. They were carefully trained in their profession, and there was no more effective soldiery in ancient times than that which marched beneath the standards of the Pharaohs.

The military force of the nation numbered, in the best days of the empire, about five hundred thousand men, increased by allies and mercenaries, in case of special urgency, to more than one million. The army was made up of infantry, cavalry, and charioteers ; the archers of the first being the most effective branch of the service. The regiments are sometimes represented upon the monuments as moving in a heavy mass, the prototype of the famous Macedonian phalanx. The Egyptian phalanx consisted of ten thousand men drawn up in a solid square, with one hundred men on each face. Protected with immense shields, this body, like its Macedonian successor, was practically impenetrable, and when moving over level ground bore down everything before it.

The navy of the Egyptians was composed of Phœnician ships and sailors ; the Egyptians themselves hated the sea. Records have been discovered of naval engagements between the Egyp-

tian fleets and their enemies upon the Mediterranean more than two thousand years before our era.

Religious Doctrines.—Attached to the chief temples of the Egyptians were colleges for the training of the sacerdotal order. These institutions were the repositories of the wisdom of the Egyptians. This learning was open only to the initiated few. The papyri have revealed to us—more favored than the uninitiated of those times—the jealously guarded mysteries of Isis. The unity of God was the central doctrine in this esoteric system. They gave to this Supreme Being the very same name by which he was known to the Hebrews—*Nuk Pu Nuk*, “I am that I am.”* The sacred manuscripts say, “He is the one living and true God, who was begotten by himself. . . . He who has existed from the beginning, . . . who has made all things, and was not himself made.”† To this Being were given many names, to express the modes of his manifestations; just as we give different names to the Deity—as Creator, Eternal, Father—to indicate the various relations he sustains to the universe and to ourselves. The inferior deities were likewise given many designations: Isis was called “the goddess with ten thousand names.”

Osiris, Isis, and Horus.—The Egyptian divinities were grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that formed by Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus, their son. The members of this triad were worshipped throughout Egypt.

* “It is evident what a new light this discovery throws on the sublime passage in Exodus iii. 14; where Moses, whom we may suppose to have been initiated into this formula, is sent both to his people and to Pharaoh to proclaim the true God by this very title, and to declare that the God of the highest Egyptian theology was also the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. The case is parallel to that of Paul at Athens.”—Smith’s “Ancient History of the East,” p. 196, note.

† Lenormant’s “Ancient History of the East,” vol. i. p. 318.

The Egyptians had whole libraries of myths and legends, some of them very beautiful and significant, respecting these favorite divinities.* Many of the other triads were composed of local deities.

The origin of the triad, or threefold grouping of the gods, which is a feature characterizing many, if not all, polytheistic religions, is that anthropomorphic conception of the divinities which attributes to them all human distinctions, and creates a celestial family, composed, like the human, of father, mother, and son.

Typhon.—Typhon, the principle of evil, was the Satan of Egyptian mythology. While the good and beneficent Osiris was symbolized by the Nile, the malignant Typhon was emblemized by the terrors and barrenness of the desert ; or by a frightful serpent, slain by Horus ; and, again, by the hippopotamus or the crocodile.

Animal-worship.—As strange to us as to the Greeks seems the animal-worship of the ancient Egyptians. Clemens, after describing the superb temples of Egypt, the solemn ceremonies, and the magnificent processions of the priests, thus contrasts

* "The peculiar character of Osiris, his coming upon earth for the benefit of mankind, with the title of 'Manifestor of good and truth,' his being put to death by the malice of the evil one, his burial and resurrection, and his becoming the judge of the dead, are the most interesting features of the Egyptian religion. This was the great mystery ; and this myth and his worship were of the earliest times, and universal in Egypt. He was to every Egyptian the great Judge of the dead ; and it is evident that Moses abstained from making any very pointed allusion to the future state of man because it would have recalled the well-known Judge of the dead and all the funeral ceremonies of Egypt, and have brought back the thoughts of the mixed multitude, and of all whose minds were not entirely uncontaminated by Egyptian habits, to the crude superstitions from which it was his object to free them."—Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," vol. i. p. 331.

all this with the deity which is the object of this adoration: "But if you enter the penetralia, and inquire for the image of the god, one of the attendants approaches with a solemn and mysterious aspect, and, putting aside the veil, suffers you to peep in and obtain a glimpse of the divinity. There you behold a snake, a crocodile, or a cat, or some other beast, a fitter inhabitant of a cavern or a bog than a temple."

To kill one of these sacred animals was adjudged the greatest impiety. Persons so unfortunate as to kill one through accident were sometimes murdered by the infuriated people. A Roman soldier, having killed a sacred cat, was set upon by the multitude and killed, in spite of the intercession of the reigning Ptolemy. Every one knows of the device of Cambyses, who placed in front of his ranks animals held sacred by the Egyptians, who, through fear of injuring them, dared not strike a blow. The destruction of a cat in a burning building was lamented more than the loss of the property. Upon the death of a dog, every member of the family shaved his head. The scarabæus, or beetle, was especially sacred, being considered an emblem of the sun.

The Sacred Bull Apis.—The belief of the Egyptians that their gods incarnated themselves in various animals is best illustrated in their worship of the bull Apis. The soul of Osiris, it was imagined, animated the body of some bull, which might be known from certain spots and markings. One of these marks was a vulture with outspread wings upon the back of the ox. At Memphis was the sacred stable in which was kept "the fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris."

Upon the death of the Apis, a great search, accompanied with loud lamentation, was made throughout the land for his successor; for, the moment the soul of Osiris departed from the dying bull, it entered a calf that moment born. The calf was always found with the proper markings; but, as Wilkinson says, the young animal had probably been put to "much in-

convenience and pain to make the marks and hair conform to his description."

The body of the deceased Apis—if he lived beyond twenty-five years he was drowned—was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. In 1851, Mariette discovered this sepulchral chamber of the sacred bulls. It is a narrow gallery, two thousand feet in length, cut in the limestone cliffs just opposite the site of ancient Memphis. Thirty of the immense granite sarcophagi, fifteen feet long and eight wide and high, have been brought to light.

Explanation of Animal-worship.—Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of so low and debased a form of worship among a people so far advanced in the scale of culture as were the ancient Egyptians, and who, moreover, entertained such just and exalted conceptions of Deity. Plutarch said that the worship arose from the custom of using for military standards the figures of various animals, which gradually came to be regarded as sacred. Diodorus accounted for it by the fable that the gods, when hard pressed in their battle with the giants, sought safety in the disguise of animals, which hence became objects of adoration.

The following seems the true solution: The ancient religion of the Egyptians was the result of the meeting and partial blending and accommodation to each other of two very different systems of belief. Hence its dualistic character. The element which manifested itself in animal-worship had its origin and basis in that low form of religion existing at the present day among many African tribes, and known as fetichism, or the adoration of material objects, animate or inanimate. The purer monotheistic element, represented by the sacerdotal order, was introduced by the Hamites, or perhaps Semites, who mingled with the original dwellers in the Nile Valley. We know that the doctrines taught the initiated in the priestly col-

leges prevailed from the very remotest times among the ancestors of at least the latter of these Asiatic intruders. This sacerdotal class, finding their doctrines too refined and spiritual for the masses, allowed them to retain their own sensuous worship, but dignified it with temples and magnificent ceremonies. In course of time attempts to harmonize the two forms of belief led to a complicated and ingenious system of symbolism, till every sacred animal and object in the lower mode of worship was made to emblemize some attribute of the Deity. As all nature is a parable, an emblem, it was not an entirely fanciful system that was evolved by this endeavor.

Judgment of the Dead.—Death was a great equalizer among the Egyptians. King and peasant alike must stand before the judgment-seat of Osiris and his forty-two assessors. This judgment of the soul in the other world was prefigured by a peculiar ordeal to which the body was subjected here. Between each chief city and the burial-place on the western edge of the valley was a sacred lake, across which the body was borne in a barge. But, before admittance to the boat, it must pass the ordeal called “the judgment of the dead.” This was a trial before a tribunal of forty-two judges, assembled upon the shore of the lake. Any person could bring accusations against the deceased, false charges being guarded against by the most dreadful penalties. If no proofs of impiety were established, the body was allowed to be borne across the sacred waters to the place of sepulture. But, if it appeared that the life of the deceased had been evil, passport to the boat of Charon, as the master of the barge was called, was denied; and the body was either carried home in dishonor, or, in case of the poor who could not afford to care for the mummy, was interred on the shores of the lake. Many mummies of those refused admission to the tombs of their fathers have been dug up along these “Stygian banks.” Diodorus affirms that several Pharaohs were denied the usual funeral obsequies. The soul

of the body thus adjudged unworthy of sepulture was condemned to wander for a hundred years in the realms of the dead.

But this ordeal of the body was only a faint symbol of the dread tribunal of Osiris before which the soul must appear in the lower world. In one scale of a balance, held by Horus and Anubis, was placed the heart of the deceased ; in the other scale, an image of Justice or Truth. The soul stands by watching the result, and as the beam inclines is either welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris, or consigned to oblivion in the jaws of a frightful hippopotamus-headed monster, "the devourer of evil souls." This annihilation, however, is only the fate of those inveterately wicked. Those respecting whom hopes of reformation may be entertained are condemned to return to earth and do penance in long cycles of lives in the bodies of various animals. This doctrine is known as the transmigration of souls.

These ceremonies at the sacred lake, and before the tribunal of Osiris and his assessors, are of great interest as showing the influence of the Egyptian religion upon the nations of Southern Europe ; for they are doubtless the original of the Acherusian lake, Charon and the Styx, and a whole series of Grecian and Roman fables and beliefs respecting the other world and the fortunes of the soul after death.

Tombs.—"All Egypt bore the impress of religion." Before all things else, the tombs of the ancient Egyptians tell us of their faith and worship. They believed in the resurrection of the body and an immortal life beyond the grave. Hence little care was bestowed upon the temporary residences of the living, but the "eternal homes" of the dead were fitted up with the most lavish expenditure of labor. These were chambers, sometimes built of brick or stone, but more usually cut in the limestone cliffs that form the western rim of the Nile Valley ; for that, as the land of the sunset, was conceived to be the

realm of darkness and of death. The cliffs opposite the ancient Egyptian capitals are honeycombed with sepulchral cells.

These tombs were owned by the priests, and were bought and sold like any other form of property. They were fitted up in various styles to suit different purchasers ; even the paintings and legends were all finished, leaving nothing to be done save the insertion of the name of the deceased. Some of the wealthy class purchased sites from the priests, and then spent immense sums in embellishing family tombs, some of which are said to have rivalled those of the kings themselves.

The poorer classes, who were unable to defray the expense of a separate tomb, were, after the embalming of the body in the rudest and most inexpensive manner, laid in tiers in great trenches dug in the desert sands.

The sculptures and paintings of the tombs usually portray the occupation of the deceased, being representations of the various processes in different manufactures, scenes of social festivities, and domestic employments. Thus the artist has converted for us the Egyptian necropolis into a city of the living, where the Egypt of four thousand years ago seems to pass before our eyes.

The Pyramids.—Remains of ancient pyramidal structures, the simple and durable character of which form of edifice led to its adoption by primitive builders, are found in all parts of the world—in Mexico, China, India, Chaldæa, and Egypt. But the enormous structures of this nature raised by the dwellers of the Nile Valley far surpass all other edifices of the same kind, and are the most wonderful and venerable monuments that have been preserved to us from the early world. The Egyptian pyramids were all erected before the Twelfth Dynasty, or the era of the Shepherd kings ; and the largest and most perfect, as we have already learned, were raised by the monarchs of the Fourth Dynasty. This fact lends to them the greatest interest ; for although thus standing away back in the earliest

twilight of the historic morning, they mark, not the beginning, but the perfection, of Egyptian art. They speak of long periods of growth in art and science lying beyond the era they represent. It is this vast and mysterious background that astonishes us even more than these giant forms cast up against it.

The principal Egyptian pyramids, sixty-seven in number, are found in groups along the edge of the Libyan Desert, for a distance of about sixty miles above the present city of Cairo. Being sepulchral monuments, they are confined to the western side of the Nile Valley; for that, as we have already seen, was considered the region of darkness and death.

The largest of the Gizeh group, the Pyramid of Cheops, rises from a base covering thirteen acres to a height of 480 feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed 100,000 men for twenty years in its erection, ten years' preparatory work having been expended upon the great causeway over which the stones were dragged from the Nile.

All the pyramids were constructed of stone, save three or four, which were built of sun-dried brick. These latter have crumbled into vast conical heaps, like the mounds left by the pyramid-temples of the Babylonians.

Several of the pyramids have been opened, and sarcophagi discovered in their inner chambers, thus proving their sepulchral character. Ambition, doubtless, as well as a desire to secure the royal body against any possible accident or violence, determined their enormous size. After the body had been placed within, the passage-way was closed by letting fall the stone portcullis; and all traces of the entrance were then obliterated by masonry.

Palaces and Temples.—The early Memphian kings built great unadorned pyramids, but the later Theban monarchs constructed splendid palaces and temples. "Thebes," says Lenormant, "in spite of all the ravages of time and of the barbarian, still presents the grandest, the most prodigious

assemblage of buildings ever erected by the hand of man." The ruins that cover the site of this ancient capital are the remains of palaces and temples erected by the combined labors of many of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies from as early as the Twelfth Dynasty to the Roman conquest. "Most of the great temples, like our cathedrals, were the work of age after age" (Smith). Two of the most prominent masses of buildings are called, the one the Palace of Karnak, and the other the Temple of Luxor, from the names of two native villages built near or within the ruined enclosures. The former was the work of seven kings, and was more than five hundred years in process of building.

Any detailed description of these ruins is here impossible. We can only notice that the walls of both palace and temple, as well as the faces of the forest of columns and obelisks that adorned the numerous courts and corridors, are covered with sculptures and paintings, portraying the processions of the priests or the exploits of the kings.

In connection with the temple proper were various buildings for the use of the priests and the sacred college, which corresponded to the chapter of the modern cathedral. As an adjunct of the temple at Karnak was a Hall of Columns, which consisted of a phalanx of one hundred and forty gigantic pillars. Some of these columns measure seventy feet in height, with capitals sixty-five feet in circumference.

Although the ruins of the royal and sacred edifices at Thebes surpass all others in the Nile Valley, still there are many remains of a similar nature, though less remarkable in extent, found upon the different sites occupied by the other capitals and chief cities of Egypt. Most of these, however, are of a later date than those of Karnak and Luxor. In Nubia, beyond the First Cataract, is the famous rock-hewn temple of Ipsambul, containing gigantic statues of Rameses II. more than sixty feet in height.

It is thought by some that the first Egyptian temples were

caves, which in time were enlarged and embellished with sculptures. Then, when the sacred structure was raised beneath the open sky, it retained the characteristic features of the subterranean temples. It is certain that the massive Egyptian column had its origin in the large square pillar of rock left to support the roof in the excavated edifice. All the changes can be traced, from the rough rectangular support through the polygonal to the round column.

Sculpture: Sphinxes and Colossi.—Egyptian sculpture grew out of painting or hieroglyphical writing. The figure or character, at first a mere outline drawing, was after a time cut into the rock surface, and next the rock was chiselled away so as to leave the figure in bass-relief. Egyptian mimetic art barely reached the point so early attained by the Greeks, who cut the figure clear around, and forced it to stand out boldly away from all support. A strange immobility, at an early period, attached itself to Egyptian art, due to the influence of religion. The artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, was not allowed to change a single line in the sacred form. Hence the impossibility of improvement in sacred sculpture. Wilkinson says that Menes would have recognized the statue of Osiris in the Temple of Amasis. Plato complained that the pictures and statues in the temples in his day were no better than those made "10,000 years" before.

The heroic or colossal size of many of the Egyptian statues excites our admiration. The two colossi of Amunoph III. at Thebes are forty-seven feet high, and are hewn each from a single block of stone. The appearance of these gigantic figures upon the solitary plain is peculiarly impressive. "There they sit together, yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt."

At the same place, in connection with the Ramesseum, the supposed palace of Rameses II., is a granite statue of that

prince, over fifty feet in height. "This is the largest ruin of a statue that has ever been known ; the foot alone is more than thirteen feet long."*

One of the colossi erected at Thebes by Amunoph III. acquired a wide reputation among the Greeks and Romans, under the name of the "Vocal Memnon." When the rays of the rising sun fell upon the colossus, it emitted low musical tones, which the Egyptians believed to be the greeting of the statue to the mother-sun. These mysterious sounds, it has been affirmed, were produced by a person concealed by the priests in the lap of the colossus. It is more probable that the musical notes were produced by the action of the sun upon the surface of the rock while wet with dew. "It had not been produced in the colossus before the earthquake that, about the time of Tiberius, threw down the upper part of the statue, and thus uncovered the fissures most exposed to the action of the dew ; it ceased when the statue was repaired by Septimius Severus, and put into the state in which we now see it" (Lenormant).†

The sphinxes, figures having the head of a man and the body of a lion, symbolizing power and intelligence, were often ranked along the avenues forming the approaches to the palaces and temples. The most famous of the sphinxes of Egypt is the colossal figure at the base of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh. This immense statue, cut out of the native rock, is ninety feet long and seventy feet high. Excavations in the sand heaped about it revealed the ruin of a temple, or rather chapel, be-

* Lenormant's "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. p. 336.

† Musical rocks are found in different parts of the world. The phenomenon is connected with granite rocks along the course of the Middle Orinoco in South America. "By putting our ears close to this surface, we were able to detect low musical tones, which our guide observed were more audible in the early morning. The granite is split with deep crevices, that seem to give emission to these mysterious sounds" (Myers's "Life and Nature under the Tropics," p. 134). Humboldt explained the phenomenon by supposing currents of air, produced by the heating of the rocks, to beat against the spangles of mica that lined the crevices.

tween its outstretched paws. This sanctuary was sacred to the setting sun, the deity of the realms of death. "This huge, mutilated figure has an astonishing effect; it seems like an eternal spectre. The stone phantom seems attention; one would say that it hears and sees. Its great ear appears to collect the sounds of the past; its eyes, directed to the east, gaze, as it were, into the future; its aspect has a depth, a truth of expression, irresistibly fascinating to the spectator. In this figure—half statue, half mountain—we see a wonderful majesty, a grand security, and even a sort of sweetness of expression."*

Glass Manufactures.—The manufacture of glass, a discovery usually attributed to the Phœnicians, was carried on in Egypt more than four thousand years ago. The paintings at Beni Hassen represent glass-blowers moulding all manner of articles. Glass bottles, and various other objects of the same material, are found in great numbers in the tombs. Some of these objects show that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with processes of coloring glass that secured results which we have not yet been able to equal. They imitated, with marvellous success, the variegated hues of insects and stones. The manufacture of precious gems, so like the natural stone as to defy detection, was a lucrative profession. The sacred scarabæi (beetles) were reproduced in glass, with linings so delicate that it is almost certain that magnifying-glasses were used in their manufacture. Glass coffins were sometimes used. Processes for cutting and grinding glass—patented quite recently among us as a new discovery—were well known to the Egyptian artists.

The various articles of glass manufacture, as well as objects of the lapidary's art, which were produced by the Egyptians,

* Ampère, as quoted by Lenormant, "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. p. 331.

were sought after and highly prized by all the nations of antiquity. They are found in the tombs of Etruria and Greece and Asia Minor, and are dug from the palace-mounds of Assyria and Babylonia. The Phœnicians being the carriers of all this trade, they often received credit, among the peoples to whom they introduced these articles, for various inventions and discoveries of which they were simply the disseminators.

The Papyrus Paper.—The famous papyrus paper used by the ancient Egyptians was manufactured from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water-channels of the Nile. From the names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* or *papyrus*, come our words “Bible” and “paper.” The plant has now entirely disappeared from Egypt, and is found only on the Anapus, in the island of Sicily, and on a small stream near Jaffa in Palestine. Long before the plant became extinct in Egypt an ancient prophecy had declared, “The paper reeds by the brooks . . . shall wither, be driven away, and be no more.”* The costly nature of the papyrus paper led to the use of many substitutes for writing purposes—as leather, broken pottery, tiles, stones, and wooden tablets.

Forms of Writing.—The Egyptians employed three forms of writing: the *hieroglyphical*, consisting of rude pictures of material objects, usually employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, an abbreviated or rather simplified form of the hieroglyphical, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and the *demotic*, or *encorial*, a still simpler form than the hieratic, and almost alphabetical in character. The last did not come in use till about the seventh century B.C., and was then used for all ordinary documents, both of a civil and commercial nature.

* Isa. xix. 7.

Key to Egyptian Writing.—The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, for which the world is indebted to the *savants* that accompanied the expedition of Napoleon in 1798. This valuable relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds a trilingual inscription, written in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek characters. Champollion, by comparing the characters composing the words Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in the different columns, discovered the value of several letters; and thus were opened the vast libraries of Egyptian learning.

We have now read the Ritual of the Dead, which tells us what the Egyptians thought about the future life; romances and fairy tales, among which is "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper," and a story written for the amusement of the little son of Rameses II.; treatises on medicine, astronomy, and various scientific subjects; and books on history—in prose and verse—which fully justify the declaration of the Egyptian priests to Solon: "You Greeks are mere children, talkative and vain: you know nothing at all of the past."

Astronomy.—The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt must have early invited the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, like the dwellers of the Chaldæan plains, to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence, the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars, could not but have incited them to the watching and prediction of astronomical movements. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the sidereal year, which they made to consist of 365 days, every fourth year adding one day, making the number for that year 366. They also divided the year into twelve months, which division we still follow.

The birth of astrology was natural, and its absurdities are mingled with all the more solid astronomical attainments of the Egyptians. They noticed that the rise of the Nile began

just at the heliacal rising of the bright dog-star Sirius, and they naturally inferred that the river obeyed some subtle influence of that body. In the Red Sea they saw, too, the tides rising and falling under some strange impulse from the wandering sun and moon. It was an easy step from these observed influences of the heavenly bodies over the inanimate world to a belief in their benign or baneful influence upon the vegetable world and over human life and destiny.

Geometry and Arithmetic.—The Greeks accounted for the early rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by reference to the necessity they were under each year of re-establishing the old boundaries of their fields—the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. Diodorus says, “The river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, causes various and many discussions among neighboring proprietors about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical proof.” The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success. A single papyrus has been discovered that holds twelve geometrical theorems.

Arithmetic was necessarily brought into requisition in solving astronomical and geometrical problems. We ourselves are great debtors to the ancient Egyptians for much of our mathematical knowledge, which has come to us from the banks of the Nile, through the Greeks and Saracens. Both our decimal and duodecimal systems of notation were originated by the Egyptians.

Medicine.—The custom of embalming the dead, affording opportunities for the examination of the body, without doubt had a great influence upon the development of the sciences of anatomy and medicine among the Egyptians. That the embalmers were physicians we know from various testimonies.

Thus we are told in the Bible that Joseph "commanded the *physicians* to embalm his father." The Egyptian doctors had a very great reputation among the ancients; several of the Persian kings attached to their courts medical advisers from the schools of Egypt.

Every doctor was a specialist, and was not allowed to take charge of cases out of his own branch. As the artist was forbidden to change the lines of the sacred statues, so the physician was not permitted to treat cases save in the manner prescribed by the customs of the past; and if he were so presumptuous as to depart from the established mode of treatment, and the patient died, he was adjudged guilty of murder.

We know that dentistry was practised; for mummies with teeth stopped with gold have been discovered. Many drugs and medicines were used; the ciphers, or characters, employed by modern apothecaries to designate grains and drams are of Egyptian invention.

In the various processes of embalming, the physicians made use of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen; while the bodies of the poorer class were simply "salted and dried," and wrapped in coarse mats, preparatory to burial. It is estimated that "between 2000 B.C. and 700 A.D., when embalming ceased, 420,000,000 mummied corpses" were placed in the various Egyptian cemeteries.

Egypt's Influence upon History.—The influence of the arts, sciences, learning, and institutions of the ancient Egyptians upon the Mediterranean nations is but just beginning to be realized. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later culture of Asia and of Europe. In speaking of the influence of the political institutions of the Egyptians, Dr. Smith observes: "The Greeks regarded the laws of Egypt as the expression of the highest wisdom and the fountain of inspiration

to their own legislators and philosophers—Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, and Plato; and the likeness between the Egyptian and Jewish codes is a decisive testimony alike to the merit of the former and to the purpose for which Moses was led to acquire his Egyptian learning.”*

* Smith's "Ancient History of the East," p. 191.

"It has been said that 'the forty-two laws of the Egyptian religion contained in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead fall short in nothing of the teachings of Christianity,' and conjectured that Moses, in compiling his code of laws, did but 'translate into Hebrew the religious precepts which he found in the sacred books' of the people among whom he had been brought up. Such expressions are, no doubt, exaggerated; but they convey what must be allowed to be a fact—viz., that there is a very close agreement between the moral law of the Egyptians and the precepts of the Decalogue."—Rawlinson's "History of Ancient Egypt," vol. i. p. 104.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHALDÆAN MONARCHY.

(From about 2300 to 1300 B.C.)

Basin of the Tigris and Euphrates.—As in the case of Egypt, so the physical features of the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates exerted a great influence upon the history of its ancient peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district ; and this division in natural feature is reflected throughout its political history. The northern part, which comprised ancient Assyria, forms undulating plains, so elevated above their streams that the waters of these can be rendered available only by laborious systems of irrigation.

But all the southern portion of this great river-basin presents quite a different aspect. This lower district has been formed by the gradual encroachment of the deposits of the Tigris and Euphrates upon the waters of the Persian Gulf, and on this account has been called the "Asian Egypt." Owing to its origin, it is as level as the sea, and the soil is of inexhaustible fertility. The climate is almost rainless, and hence agriculture is dependent mainly upon artificial irrigation. The distribution of the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates was secured, in ancient times, by a stupendous system of canals and irrigants, which, at the present day, in a sand-choked and ruined condition, spread like a perfect network over the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile Valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these alluvial flats excited the wonder of all the Greek travellers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell his countrymen the whole

truth, for fear they will doubt his veracity. The soil is as fertile now as in the time of the historian ; but, owing to the neglect of the ancient canals, the greater part of this once populous district has been converted into alternating areas of marsh and desert.

The Three Great Monarchies.—Within the Tigro-Euphrates basin, three great empires—the Chaldæan, the Assyrian, and the Babylonian—successively rose to prominence and dominion. Each, in turn, extended its authority not only over the valley, but also made the power of its arms felt throughout the adjoining regions. We shall now trace the rise and the varied fortunes of these empires, and the slow growth of the arts and sciences from rude beginnings among the early Chaldæans to their fuller and richer development under the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies.

The Chaldæans a Mixed People.—The Chaldæans, who were the pioneers of civilization in the Tigro-Euphrates Valley, were, as we have already learned, a mixed people. They had their origin in the blending of the four great branches of the White race—the Turanian, Hamitic, Semitic, and Aryan. In this commingling of ethnic elements, the Hamitic race outweighed the others in number and influence, and stamped the character of the resulting culture. Hence we properly speak of the Chaldæans as Hamites, although it is a fact—a fact repeated in the history of many of those peoples that have done most for civilization—that in their veins mingled the blood of various races.

Chaldæan Dynasties: Great Kings.—Through a Babylonian priest named Berosus, who lived in the third century before our era, we have preserved to us a list of the dynasties that ruled in Chaldæa from the founding of the Chaldæan kingdom by Nimrod, about 2300 B.C., to its overthrow by the Assyrian king

Tiglathi-Nin, about 1300 B.C. Although during this long period, a full millennium, there were frequent changes in the ruling family, and Elamitic and Arabian princes held sway for long periods over the country, still the empire remained essentially Hamitic in language and religion. Of all the kings included in the lists of Berosus only three can claim our special attention : Nimrod, the Founder of the empire ; Urukh, the Builder ; and Chedorlaomer, the Conqueror.

Nimrod, the Founder.—About 2300 B.C., many centuries after Menes in Egypt, and fourteen hundred years before Solomon at Jerusalem, Nimrod set up in the Babylonian plains, at the head of the Persian Gulf, an Hamitic kingdom, which, with varying fortunes, maintained an existence for more than ten centuries. In Scriptural history (Genesis x.), we are told that Cush begat Nimrod, “a mighty hunter,” the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel and Erech, and Accad and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.

Now, inscriptions and sculptures found on old Chaldæan seals represent Isdubar, one of the legendary kings of the country, supposed to be identical with Nimrod, as engaging in contests with lions and other monsters, or as a warrior subduing and leading into captivity the peoples of surrounding countries ; and the bricks composing different heaps of ruins on the Chaldæan plains have been recently discovered to be stamped with the Biblical names, so that antiquarians have been able positively to identify several of those crumbling masses of buildings with the Nimrodic cities mentioned in Genesis.

The brief fragmentary notices of the Hebrew writer, and the corroborative inscriptions of the old seals and bricks, embrace almost all our certain knowledge of the Great Nimrod ; yet “the strength of his character and the greatness of his achievements are remarkably indicated by a variety of testimonies, which place him among the foremost men of the old world, and guarantee him a never-ending remembrance. At least as early

as the time of Moses his name had passed into a proverb."* The Arabs ascribe to this legendary hero almost every great work in the entire valley, and many a mass of ruins is called "Nimrud" in his honor.

Uruk, the Builder.—Uruk was a royal, and for the time in which he lived a magnificent, builder; though to us the edifices he reared would appear rude and primitive. All the great structures of this king were tower-temples, built in several stages, and somewhat resembling the pyramids of Egypt. The sites of these edifices are marked at the present day by vast conical hills of crumbled ruins that dot thickly the Chaldæan plains. From the vast number and size of his works—for Uruk adorned each of the chief cities of his empire with a great temple—we may infer either that as a despot he had at his command the life and labors of his subjects, whom he oppressed as the pyramid-building kings of Egypt burdened their people, or that as a conqueror he set to the task the captives of his numerous wars.

Chedorlaomer, the Conqueror.—While the Chaldæan kings were building their great cities and pyramid-temples on the plains of Lower Babylonia, the princes of the Elamites, a people of Turanian race, were setting up a rival kingdom to the northeast, just at the foot of the hills of Persia. The capital of this Scythian Empire was Susa, thought to be one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of Asiatic cities. In the year 2286 B.C., a king of Elam, Kudur-Nakhunta by name, overran Chaldæa, took all the cities founded by Nimrod and his successors, and from the temples of Uruk bore off in triumph to his capital, Susa, the statues of the Chaldæan gods, and set up in these lowland regions what is known as the Elamite dynasty. More than sixteen hundred years after this despoiling of the Chaldæan

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 153.

sanctuaries, a king of Nineveh (Asshur-bani-pal) captured the city of Susa, and found there these stolen statues and caused them to be restored to their original temples.

These events, about which we are told by the inscriptions recently deciphered, derive great interest from the fact that this campaign of the Elamite prince is the earliest instance of war waged and of cities captured upon the continent of Asia of which we have any positive knowledge ; for we must bear in mind that we cannot hope to separate the mythological from the purely historical element in the legends of Nimrod. The first lifting of the historical curtain reveals to us a scene of conquest and robbery as the opening acts of the historical drama in the Valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Kudur-Nakhunta was succeeded by his son Kudur-Lagamer, the Chedorlaomer of Genesis, whose contact with the history of the Jewish patriarch Abraham has caused his name to be handed down to our own times in the records of the Hebrew people. Chedorlaomer is the first king of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley who pushed his conquests beyond the limits of that region, and conceived the ambitious project of uniting all the nations and tribes of Western Asia, between the hills of Persia and the Mediterranean, in one gigantic kingdom. He was at least partly successful in his plans ; for we know that the princes of Elam and Babylonia, and some of the kings of Syria, paid tribute to him. Rawlinson, in reviewing the character of Chedorlaomer, says : " In thus effecting conquests which were not again made from the same quarter till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, fifteen or sixteen hundred years afterwards, Chedorlaomer has a good claim to be regarded as one of the most remarkable personages in the world's history—being, as he is, the forerunner and prototype of all great Oriental conquerors who from time to time have built up vast empires in Asia out of heterogeneous material, which have, in a longer or shorter space, successively crumbled to decay."

Religion, Architecture, Literature, and Science of the Ancient Chaldeans.

Religion of the Chaldeans.—The Chaldean religion, in its fundamental features, was like the Egyptian. The deity at the head of the Pantheon was Il, or Ra, the latter name being one of the titles of the Egyptian Osiris, and the former being the root of the Hebrew Elohim and of the Arabian Allah.* Below Il was a triad—Ana, Belus, and Hoa ; and next to these divinities a second triad—Sin (Moon), San (Sun), and Bin (Atmosphere). Then come five planetary deities, representing Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, embracing all the planets visible to the naked eye. Besides these divinities, which constituted the twelve primary gods, were numerous secondary and local deities and genii.

The feature in which this polytheistic system diverges most from that of the Nile Valley is the absence of animal-worship, or the adoration of material *terrestrial* objects, and the prominence accorded to the worship of *celestial* bodies. This is so marked a feature of the Chaldean religion that it is often called Sabæism, a worship of “the host of the heavens.” The astral character of the Chaldean worship greatly influenced, as we shall see, the sacred architecture of this primitive people, as well as that of the succeeding Assyrians and Babylonians.

Chaldean Tower-temples.—After the pyramids of Egypt, the tower-temples of the Chaldeans are the oldest edifices erected by man of which traces have survived to our own day. They were simple in plan, consisting of two or three terraces, or stages, placed one upon another so as to form a sort of rude pyramid. The material used in their construction was sun-dried brick, the hills of Arabia and Persia being too distant to encourage the use of stone in any considerable quantity. The

* Rawlinson's “Ancient Monarchies,” vol. i. p. 114.

structure was sometimes protected by outer courses of burnt brick. Surmounting the upper platform was the temple proper, reached by stairs running up the sides of the stages. From the enamelled bricks, flakes of alabaster and marble, and occasional plates of gold, found in the rubbish on the top of the mounds, we may infer the beauty and richness of the shrine.

All these tower-temples have crumbled into vast mounds, with only here and there a projecting mass of masonry to distinguish them from natural hills, for which they were first mistaken. It is probable that they were used as astronomical observatories, and that from their summits the Chaldæan astrol-ogers watched the changing aspect of the stars.

Burial Mounds.—The coffins of the Chaldæans have been pronounced the most curious sepulchral monuments of antiquity (Rawlinson). One kind consisted of a large terra-cotta cover, which was turned over the body, placed on a mat. Another kind was made of two large jars, placed mouth to mouth, the joint being closed by bitumen. These curious coffins were deposited in tiers, in artificial mounds, often of vast extent. In the burial mounds about the city of Wurka, identified as the Ur of the Bible, the coffins are piled fifty deep. All about these mounds, the ground for miles on every side is filled with graves. It has been estimated that a greater number of bodies rest here than in the Necropolis of Thebes (Loftus). So exalted was the sanctity that had attached to the ancient city of Nimrod, that for more than two thousand years this spot was a sacred burial-place, not only for the Chaldæans, but also, it is thought, for the Assyrians and Babylonians, as there are no tombs to be found in Assyria or Upper Babylonia.

All the oldest cities in Chaldæa are thus surrounded by vast cemeteries. Bodies were transported long distances by the Tigris and the Euphrates, that they might repose at last in sacred ground. A similar sentiment still impels the Mohammedans in the same land to carry the bodies of friends vast distances, in order to lay them near the shrine of some celebrated saint.

Cuneiform Writing.—We can trace the same stages of development in the art of writing among the Chaldæans that are observed in its growth among the ancient Egyptians. The earliest and the latest inscriptions, when compared, exhibit the art in all the stages of its advance from the purely pictorial form into the syllabic.

We may distinguish five forms: the *hieroglyphic*, the *hieratic*, the *archaic cuneiform*, the *modern cuneiform*, and the *cursive*. The first and second are the same as the corresponding forms in Egyptian writing, and the one grew out of the other in the same way. The archaic cuneiform is the same as the hieratic, only the characters, instead of being formed of unbroken lines, are composed of wedge-like marks; hence the name (from *cuneus*, a wedge). This form arose when soft tablets of clay were substituted for stone as writing material, upon which the letters were impressed with a triangular stylus. The honor of the invention of this form of writing is now generally accorded to the Turanian Elamites, from whom it was adopted by the Chaldæans. The modern cuneiform is simply an abbreviated form of the preceding; and the cursive is a still further simplification of the last. The modern cuneiform and cursive were not developed by the Chaldæans, but by the Assyrians, who borrowed their system of writing, as well as many other elements of their culture, from the people they had conquered.

The characters employed in all these modes of writing were of two kinds—ideographic and phonetic. The former were symbols, representing entire words or ideas; the latter, several hundred in number, represented each a syllable, and thus constituted a syllabarium rather than a true alphabet. In its earliest stages the archaic cuneiform writing was made up largely of ideographs; but it gradually became more and more phonetic, until the syllabic characters formed the larger part of the inscription.

Although the Chaldæans, and the Assyrians after them, advanced so far in the difficult art of depicting thought, still they failed to take the last step—to analyze the syllable into its sim-

ple elements or sounds, and then represent each of these by a simple character. The honor of this achievement was left to another people and race. It was not until more than two thousand years after the first improvements had been made in rude picture-writing by the Chaldæans, that the Persians,* beyond the Zagros ranges, to the east of the lowland country, took the step which marks the crowning achievement in the development of the greatest of human arts. That people reduced language to its ultimate elements, and with thirty-six characters represented all its elementary sounds, and thus replaced the cumbersome syllabic with the pliant alphabetical system. Thus the four different branches of the White race—the Turanian Elamites, the Hamitic Chaldæans, the Semitic Assyrians, and the Aryan Persians—all contributed to the grand result. So, slowly and painfully, are wrought out the elements of human arts and culture.

The cuneiform mode of writing was in use about two thousand years, being employed by the nations in and near the Euphrates basin—that is, by the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Susianians, the Armenians, the Medes, and the Persians—down to the time of the conquest of the East by the Macedonians (about 330 B.C.).

Books and Libraries.—The books of the Chaldæans were composed of clay tablets, varying in length from one to twelve inches, and being about one inch thick. They were closely written on both sides, and often over the edges, the characters employed being the cuneiform, already described. These tablets embrace the greatest possible variety of subjects. There are mythological tablets, which hold the myths of the Chaldæans respecting their divinities; mathematical tablets, on

* It is possible that the honor of the reduction of the hieroglyphical cuneiform writing to a purely alphabetical mode of representation should be given to the Medes rather than to the Persians. In any event, it must be allowed that the Persians, even though they be denied the honor of original invention, improved and perfected the system.

which the extraction of roots, square and cube, is fully illustrated ; legal tablets, containing laws, law-cases, contracts, wills, loans, and various other matters of a commercial nature ; and astronomical, geographical, historical, and legendary tablets, holding the wisdom of the Chaldæans in all these matters..

Chaldæan Literature.—Periods in literature may be distinguished as creative and elaborative. During a creative period, vast masses of literary material are originated or given birth ; during the elaborative period, which always follows such an era of production, this literature is servilely copied, imitated, polished, and worked over into other and usually inferior forms. Thus, the Homeric age in Greece was a creative period, which gave birth to the great epic of the “Iliad ;” while the several centuries immediately succeeding were simply elaborative—the writers and poets of that era being content to copy blindly the great master Homer.

Now, from 2200 to 1800 B.C. was a creative period in Chaldæan literature. It was an age of marvellous literary activity and productiveness. A vast body of myths, legends, and traditions was then created, which became the prized and revered inheritance of the succeeding Assyrians and Babylonians. The discoveries and patient labors of different scholars have given us, from the legendary tablets, the Chaldæan tradition of the Creation of the World, of the Creation and Fall of Man, of the Deluge, of Izdubar (Nimrud?), and of the Babel Builders. All of these accounts are remarkably like the Hebrew traditions of these several matters. They are, however, not so simple and pure as the Bible narratives ; for, being the legends of a people of a polytheistic belief, they necessarily contain many particulars respecting the popular deities. It is thought by some Biblical scholars that they are the distorted copies of the original traditions of these matters possessed by primitive man, and which were preserved in their monotheistic simplicity by the Abrahamic family.

Astronomy and Arithmetic.—In astronomy, and its associate science arithmetic, the early Chaldæans made substantial progress. The clear skies and unbroken horizon of the Chaldæan plains, lending an unusually brilliant aspect to the heavens, naturally led the Chaldæans to the study of the stars. The tower-temples, as we have already noticed, were probably used as astronomical observatories. The careful emplacement of these edifices with the angles of the stages towards the cardinal points; the use of sun-dials of various construction; the division of the year into twelve months, which we have received as an unchanged inheritance from them through the Hebrews; and the great reputation which the Chaldæan astronomers enjoyed among all the nations of antiquity—all these things testify to their attainments in astronomical science.* In arithmetic they made considerable progress: a tablet recently discovered contains the squares of the numbers from one to sixty.

Chaldæans as Pioneers in Civilization.—In viewing the beginnings of civilization among the primitive peoples of the Euphrates Valley, we must not look with contempt upon their rude buildings and their small attainments in science and culture. We must bear in mind that, if not absolutely pioneers in the arts and sciences, they inherited only the simplest rudiments of learning from preceding ages. The first step in civilization is hard to take; but, with this made, each succeeding step becomes easier. They were toiling at the foundations, and though all they did for one thousand years, from 2300 to 1300 B.C., scarcely appears to view, still that which they laid with so much toil and care forms the basis upon which following ages have built. We shall hereafter see how the Semitic and Aryan races, upon the foundation laid by the Hamitic, proceeded to raise still higher the structure of civilization, adorning it at the same time with a hand nerved by a more vigorous intellectual life, and guided by a deeper and truer religious instinct.

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 101.

CHAPTER V.

THE ASSYRIAN MONARCHY.

(From an unknown date to 625 B.C.)

Introduction.—We have seen how, for about one thousand years—from 2300 to 1300 B.C.—the Chaldæan monarchy held sway over all the southern part of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley. Meanwhile, farther to the north, upon the banks of the Tigris, was growing into strength and prominence a rival power of another people and race—the Semitic Assyrians—to whom were now to be transferred, for preservation and enrichment, the arts and sciences and primitive culture of the Chaldæan plains.

In tracing the dynastic or political history of Assyria, we shall mention only those kings whose wide conquests or great works, or the strength of whose character or the greatness of whose misfortunes, have caused their names to live among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

Tiglath-Pileser I. (1130–1110 B.C.).—It is not until about two centuries after the conquest of Chaldæa by the Assyrian prince Tiglath-Nin, that we find a sovereign of renown at the head of Assyrian affairs. This was Tiglath-Pileser I., who came to the throne about 1130 B.C. We know more of his reign than of that of any preceding king, through the fortunate discovery of a clay cylinder containing the royal records. It details at great length the various war expeditions of Tiglath-Pileser, and describes the great works which he constructed. So we can listen to the king himself, while, in his self-laudatory

style, he narrates his great exploits, and glories in the number and extent of his conquests.

"There fell into my hands altogether," says this inscription, "between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year, forty-two countries, with their kings, from the banks of the river Zab to the banks of the Euphrates, the country of the Khatti, and the upper ocean of the setting sun [Mediterranean]. I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them; and I imposed on them tribute and offerings."*

He speaks as follows of the restoration of a temple: "In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, gave me a command to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth; . . . fifty feet deep I prepared the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundation to its roof I built it up better than it was before. I also built two lofty towers in honor of their noble godships; and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned everything with the same care as inside. The mound of earth on which it was built I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars (?), and I beautified the entire building. Its towers I raised to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick."†

The inscription closes as follows: "The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to Asshur, which Anu and Vul have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed [to remain] to the last days, in the temples of my lords, Anu and Vul. . . . In after-times, and in the latter days, if the temple of the Great Gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and these shrines

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 68.

† Ibid. p. 69.

should become old and fall into decay, may the Prince who comes after me repair the ruins! May he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name! As Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust!

"Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a place where they cannot be seen or understood, or shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or shall divide the sculptures (?) and break them off my tablets, may Anu and Vul, the Great Gods, my lords, assign his name to perdition! May they curse him with an irrevocable curse! May they cause his sovereignty to perish! May they pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire! Let not his offspring survive him in the kingdom! Let his servants be taken! Let his troops be defeated! Let him fly vanquished before his enemy! May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land! . . . For one day may he not be called happy! May his name and his race perish!"

Asshur-izer-pal (883-858 B.C.).—We pass an interval of more than two centuries, and then find upon the throne Asshur-izer-pal, under whom the Assyrian Empire enjoyed an era of unusual magnificence. This king made several expeditions into the surrounding countries, punishing cruelly, by crucifixion and burning, all that dared resist his authority.

But while, like all the Assyrian kings, cruel and unrelenting in war, he seemed not insensible to the gentler influences of peace; for he was a generous patron of sculpture and architecture. Many of the cities of his empire were adorned by him with magnificent palaces and temples. Of the capital Calah, overlooking the Tigris, which city Asshur-izer-pal em-

bellished with his most splendid edifices, Rawlinson, forming his picture from the nature and extent of the ruins, declares that "when the setting sun lighted up the view with the gorgeous hues seen only under an Eastern sky, it must have seemed to the traveller who beheld it for the first time like a vision from fairy-land."

Shalmaneser II. (858–823 B.C.).—Asshur-izer-pal was followed by Shalmaneser II., who reigned thirty-five years. During his rule this warlike king made between twenty and thirty military expeditions against various countries, and held in subjection almost all the peoples between the Mediterranean and the mountains of Persia. One of the most significant events of his reign was the submission to his power of the kingdom of Israel, which left Jerusalem exposed to the tides of Assyrian invasion which, in succeeding reigns, threatened to overwhelm the little kingdom of Judah, and blot out her name from the now short list of independent states in Western Asia.

Vul-Lush III. and Semiramis.—Vul-Lush, who reigned from 810 to 781 B.C., has a place in the list of Assyrian monarchs noticed by us, not because of anything remarkable in his own character or achievements, but because of the mythical greatness of his queen.

Probably to strengthen his claim to the provinces of Babylonia, which country seems at this time to have sustained a sort of vassal relation to the Assyrian kings, Vul-Lush married a Babylonian princess, Sammuramit by name, supposed to be identical with the renowned Semiramis of the Greek writers. The many and extravagant stories told by Ctesias and Herodotus of her great conquests and vast architectural works are now known to be fabulous. All these myths and legends gathered about her name on account of the very unusual circumstance of her having enjoyed with her royal husband a sort of co-sovereignty in the government. Hers is the only name

of a queen that is mentioned in the records of the Assyrian kings.

Sargon (722-705 B.C.).—Sargon was one of the greatest of Assyrian conquerors. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria, the siege of which had been commenced by Shalmaneser IV., and carried away the Ten Tribes into captivity beyond the Tigris. From this time the kingdom of Israel disappears from among the states of the East. The captives were scattered among the cities of Media, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of that province. During this reign the Egyptians and their allies, in the first encounter between the empires of the Euphrates and the Nile Valley, suffered a severe defeat.

Sargon was a famous builder. Near the foot of the Persian hills he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, described in the inscriptions as "a palace of incomparable magnificence," the site of which is now preserved by the vast mounds of Khorsabad.

Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.).—Sennacherib, the son of Sargon, came to the throne 705 B.C. We must accord to him the first place of renown among all the great names of the Assyrian Empire. His name, connected as it is with the narrative of Jerusalem's marvellous deliverance from the power of the Assyrian army, and with many of the most wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar to the ear as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon.

The fulness of the royal inscriptions of this reign enables us to permit Sennacherib, like Tiglath-Pileser, to tell us in his own words of his great works and military expeditions. Respecting the decoration of Nineveh, he says: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I have made the whole town a city shining like the sun."

Concerning an expedition against Hezekiah, King of Judah, he says: "I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape."*

This siege resulted in the submission of Hezekiah and in his rendering homage and tribute to the Assyrian king. It was during another expedition, while aiming a defiant and revengeful stroke at both Egypt and Jerusalem, that his army, upon the eastern frontier of the former country, was smitten by an unseen hand, and "the king returned home to Nineveh, shorn of his glory, with the shattered remains of his great host, and cast that proud capital into a state of despair and grief which the genius of an Æschylus might have rejoiced to depict, but which no less powerful pen could adequately portray."

Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.).—Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, was a great warrior and a great builder. He performed the feat, rarely achieved by any conqueror, of penetrating to and capturing the cities of Central Arabia. During another campaign he led his army up the Nile to the Plain of Thebes. He built four royal residences, and many temples in different cities of his empire. Sickened falling upon him, he abdicated in favor of his son Asshur-bani-pal.

Asshur-bani-pal (668-626 ? B.C.).—This king is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of art and literature. During his reign Assyria enjoyed her Augustan age. Under the inspiration of his example and the encouragement of his favor, a great

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 161.

literary enthusiasm sprang up at Nineveh ; and within the walls of his palace in that city was collected the largest and most important library of the old Semitic world. But Asshur-bani-pal was also possessed of a warlike spirit. He broke to pieces, with a terrible energy, in swift campaigns, the enemies of his empire. All the scenes of his sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

Saracus (626?–625 B.C.).—Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. His reign was short, measured by a single year, and that filled with misfortune for himself and his kingdom. For nearly or quite seven centuries the Ninevite kings had lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all Western Asia that had not, during this time, felt the weight of their conquering arms ; nor a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments, or tasted the bitterness of their servitude.

But now swift misfortunes were bearing down upon the oppressor from every quarter. The Scythian hordes, breaking through the mountain gates on the north, spread a new terror throughout the upper Assyrian provinces ; from the mountain defiles on the east issued the armies of the recent-grown empire of the Aryan Medes, led by the renowned Cyaxares ; from the southern lowlands, anxious to aid in the overthrow of the hated oppressor, the revolted Babylonians, led by the traitor Nabopolassar, joined the Medes as allies, and together they laid close siege to the Assyrian capital. The “gates of the river” were broken by an unusual inundation of the Tigris ; a section of the city wall was undermined, and a breach thus prepared for the enemy. Saracus, in his despair, is said to have erected a funeral pyre within one of the courts of his palace, and, mounting the pile with the members of his family, to have perished with them in the flames.

Thus, amid engulfing waters and the smoke of the pyre of the last Ninevite king, the proud Assyrian capital sank into unsightly heaps of earth and rubbish (625 B.C.). Four hundred years before Christ, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks, in his memorable retreat, passed the spot, even the name of Nineveh seems to have been forgotten; for the ruins were pointed out to him as those of "Mespila."



CHAPTER VI.

INSTITUTIONS, ARCHITECTURE, AND LITERATURE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

Nature of the Assyrian Empire.—The Assyrian state is a good type of all the great empires that have succeeded one another upon the soil of Asia. It was simply a heterogeneous mass of peoples and races, held together by external force, and united by no inner bonds of religion or customs or language. Two things were exacted, by the predominating state, of the vassal nations—tribute and homage. Attempts, indeed, were made by some of the Assyrian kings to consolidate the varied elements which wide conquests had brought within the limits of the empire into something like a national unity. But these efforts did not proceed from a desire to promote the welfare of the peoples over whom they ruled; they had in view simply the strengthening of the power of the dominant state, and the riveting more securely of the chains of the subject nations. The sovereigns endeavored to Assyrianize the remotest provinces by the wholesale transference of the population of a conquered country to a new region, in order that, with the old ties of country and home thus severed, the new generation might the more easily forget past wrongs and old traditions and customs, and become blended with the peoples about them. Thus, the Ten Tribes of Israel were carried away from their homes, and scattered among the Median towns, where they became so mingled with the native population of the country as to be inquired after even to this day as “the lost tribes.”

It was inevitable that a kingdom of this nature should be ever threatening dissolution the moment the organizing genius

that had consolidated it was embarrassed by accident or removed by death. Hence the constant efforts necessary to reconquer revolted provinces, and to refasten the chains upon states that were constantly breaking away from the central authority. And hence, also, the disturbances and uprisings that accompanied almost every dynastic change.

Character of the Assyrians.—The Assyrian character was most cruel and barbarous. Although possessing deep religious feeling, and having a real love for art and literature, still the Assyrian monarchs often displayed in the treatment of prisoners the disposition of savages. In common with most Asiatics, they had no respect for the body, but subjected captives to the most terrible mutilations. The sculptured marbles taken from the palaces exhibit the cruel tortures inflicted upon prisoners: some are being flayed alive; the eyes of others are being bored out with the point of a spear; and still others are having their tongues torn out. An inscription by Asshur-nasir-pal, found in one of the palaces at Nimrud, runs as follows: "Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a minaret. I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burned in the flames."*

Royal Sports.—The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the

* In strange contrast to the tone of this inscription is a prayer of King Asshur-bani-pal which reads thus: "May the look of pity that shines in thine eternal face dispel my griefs. May I never feel the anger and wrath of the God. May my omissions and my sins be wiped out. May I find reconciliation with him, for I am the servant of his power, the author of the great gods. May thy powerful face come to my help: may it shine like heaven, and bless me with happiness and abundance of riches." See Lenormant's "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. p. 418.

great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as the cities he has captured.* The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in the favorite royal sport. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well as less dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

Asshur-izer-pal had at Nineveh a menagerie, or hunting-park, filled with various animals, many of which were sent him as tribute by vassal princes. During a single hunting expedition into the desert regions of Mesopotamia, this monarch, according to his own inscriptions, slew three hundred and sixty lions, two hundred and fifty-seven wild cattle, and thirty buffaloes, besides capturing for his menagerie an immense number of ostriches, bears, and hyenas.†

The Royal Cities.—The capital of the Assyrian monarchy, like that of almost every other empire in Asia, was of a migratory character. There are scattered along the course of the Tigris the ruins of three royal cities—Asshur, Calneh, and Nineveh, or, as called at the present time, Kileh-Sherghat, Nimrud, and Koyunjik. Away from the Tigris, about ten miles to the northeast of Nineveh, is the mound of Khorsabad, which marks the site of the royal residence of Sargon.

The ruins of these royal cities of Assyria are very unlike those of the capital cities of Egypt. Enormous grass-grown mounds, enclosed by long-crumbled ramparts, alone mark the sites of the great cities of the Assyrian kings. The character of the remains arises from the nature of the building material. Palaces, city walls, and temples were constructed chiefly of sun-dried bricks, so that the generation that raised them had scarce-

* Lenormant's "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. p. 431.

† Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 91.

ly passed away before they began to sink down into heaps of rubbish. The rains of many centuries have beaten down and deeply furrowed these mounds, while the grass has crept over them and made green alike the palaces of the kings and the temples of the gods.

The Ruins of Nineveh.—Lying upon the left bank of the Upper Tigris is a large quadrangular enclosure surrounded by heavy earthen ramparts, about eight miles in circuit. This is the site of ancient Nineveh, the immense enclosing ridges being the ruined city walls. These ramparts are still, in their crumbled condition, about fifty feet high (Xenophon says that they were one hundred and fifty feet high when he saw them), and average about one hundred and fifty in width. The lower part of the wall was constructed of solid stone masonry; the upper portion, of dried brick. This upper and frailer part, crumbling into earth, has completely buried the stone basement. The Turks quarry the stone from these old walls for their modern buildings. The bridge that spans the Tigris at Mosul (a native town just opposite the ruins of Nineveh) is constructed of stone dug from these ancient ramparts.

The regularity of the old walls is broken by large heaps of rubbish, which mark the position of the city gates and their flanking towers. In one of these mounds, excavated by Layard, were found several colossal winged bulls, the wardens of the entrance. The stone pavement was discovered worn into deep ruts by the chariot-wheels.

But the most interesting feature of the ruins is the great palace-mound called by the natives Koyunjik. This mound covers an area of one hundred acres, and is from seventy to ninety feet high. It is traversed by deep ravines, worn in its mass by centuries of storms. Upon this great platform stood several of the most splendid palaces of the Ninevite kings.

Palace-Mounds and Palaces.—In order to give a certain dig-

nity to the royal residence, to secure the fresh breezes, and to render them more easily defended, the Assyrians, as well as the Babylonians and Persians, lifted their palaces upon lofty artificial terraces, or platforms. These eminences, which appear like natural flat-topped hills, were constructed with an almost incredible expenditure of human labor. Out of the material composing the mound of Koyunjik at Nineveh could be built four pyramids as large as that of Cheops. One or more of these gigantic mounds marks the site of each of the royal cities already mentioned.

The tops of these platforms are loaded with the débris of the Assyrian palaces. The swiftness with which the mud-walled edifices fell into dilapidation, an ambition to surpass all predecessors, and a superstitious fear of occupying the palace of a deceased monarch led each king, upon his accession to the throne, to commence the erection of a new royal residence. Sometimes an entirely new site was chosen ; but oftentimes the new palace was erected alongside the old upon the same platform.

The group of buildings constituting the royal residence was often of enormous extent: the various courts, halls, corridors, and chambers of the Palace of Sennacherib, which surmounted the platform at Nineveh, covered an area of over ten acres. The palaces were usually one-storied. The walls, constructed chiefly of dried brick, were immensely thick and heavy. The rooms and galleries were plastered with stucco, or panelled with precious woods, or lined with enamelled bricks. The main halls, however, were faced with slabs of alabaster, covered with sculptures and inscriptions, the illustrated narrative of the wars and labors of the monarch. At the entrance of these panelled halls, as if to guard the approach, were stationed the colossal human-headed bulls.

The immense courts upon which the chambers opened were the most important feature of the palace, as is still the case in all Oriental residences, and were sumptuously decorated with

symbolic sculptures, and surrounded with carved and painted balconies, supported usually upon wood columns encased in bronze plates, and crowned with capitals that were the original of the Grecian Ionic. These superb courts were used on special state occasions; the assembly being protected from the sun and weather by a rich awning, as the Roman emperors in later times shielded the multitudes in the amphitheatre.

An important adjunct of the palace was the temple, a copy of the tower-temples of the Chaldæans. Its position is marked at present by a lofty conical mound, rising amidst and overlooking the palace ruins.

Assyrian Explorations.—Upon the decay of the Assyrian palaces, the material forming the upper part of the thick walls completely buried and protected all the lower portion of the structure. In this way their sculptures and inscriptions have been preserved through so many centuries, till brought to light by the recent excavations of French and English antiquarians.

In 1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul, excavated the mound of Khorsabad, and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the Palace of Sargon. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the Museum of the Louvre in Paris. Some years later, Layard disintombed the Palace of Sennacherib, and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calneh, and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search. These disintombed palaces have thrown as strong a light upon the arts and history of the ancient Assyrians as the excavated cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum have shed upon the arts and domestic life of the Romans.

The Royal Library at Nineveh.—Within the Palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, Layard discovered what is known as the Royal Library. There were two chambers, the floors of which were heaped with books, like the Chaldæan tablets already described. The number of books in the collection has been esti-

mated at ten thousand. The writing upon some of the tablets is so minute that it cannot be read without the aid of a magnifying-glass. We learn from the inscriptions that a librarian had charge of the collection. Catalogues of the books have been found, made out on clay tablets. The library was open to the public, for an inscription says, "I [Asshur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

Asshur-bani-pal, as we have already learned, was the Augustus of Assyria. It was under his patronage and direction that most of the books were prepared and placed in the Ninevite collection. The greater part of these were copies of older Chaldæan tablets; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Chaldæans. All the old libraries of the low-country were ransacked, and copies of their tablets made for the Royal Library at Nineveh. In this way was preserved much of the early Chaldæan literature which would otherwise have been lost to the world.

The Tablets and their Contents.—The Assyrian tablets were in form like the Chaldæan. Those holding records of special importance were, after having been once written over and baked, covered with a thin coating of clay, the matter written in duplicate, and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design, the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.

The contents of the tablets embrace a great variety of subjects; the larger part, however, are lexicons and treatises on grammar, and various other works intended as text-books for scholars. Perhaps the most curious of the tablets yet found are notes issued by the government and made redeemable in gold and silver on presentation at the king's treasury. Tablets of this character have been found bearing date as early as 625 B.C. It would seem from this that the Assyrians had very cor-

rect notions of the nature of paper (tablet) money. Others of the books treat of laws, of chronology and history, and of the natural sciences. In natural history we find tablets exhibiting classifications into families and genera of all the animals inhabiting the different provinces of the Assyrian Empire—a common and scientific name being attached to each species. “No doubt,” says Lenormant, “the great divisions of this classification are those of a very rudimentary science, but we may well be astonished to find that the Assyrians had already invented a scientific nomenclature similar in principle to that of Linnæus.”

Influence of Assyria upon Civilization.—The recent excavations among the Assyrian palaces, and the discovery of the key to the cuneiform inscriptions,* which has opened to us

* “Many will be interested in a more particular account of the method in which the first steps in cuneiform decipherment were effected. . . . While Professor Grotefend was studying some Persepolitan inscriptions (copied by Niebuhr) in his study in Europe, Rawlinson was at work upon the tablet of Hamadan, amid the deserts of Persia. Each solved the problem independently; at least, each took the first steps in the way of a true solution without any aid or suggestion from the other. Both arrived at the same result in a strikingly similar manner. We will give very briefly the way in which Rawlinson was led to his discovery, condensing from his own account as given in a paper entitled ‘Mémorial on Cuneiform Inscriptions,’ in *Journals of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. The tablets which Rawlinson chose for his work were the famous Behistun inscriptions, comprising two trilingual records by Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes. He observed these inscriptions to be identical throughout, save in certain groups of characters. There are two of these groups in each tablet, but the last group of one was the same as the first group of the other. This fact suggested to Rawlinson that the groups represented proper names—three Persian kings, following one another successively upon the throne. Taking at random three names—Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes—he applied them to the groups. Fortunately, he had lighted upon the right names, and was able to determine the power of several letters. Other proper names gave additional letters; and thus an alphabet was slowly elaborated. And thus the clew to the decipherment of the cuneiform writings, the most important of all philological dis-

the treasures of the libraries of the Euphrates Valley, have greatly modified our views of the ancient empires of the East and the influence of Asiatic art and culture upon European civilization. As many of the elements of our modern civilization were received as an inheritance from Greece and Rome, so in turn, we now find, was their culture enriched by valuable gifts from the older civilizations of the East. As the Tiber and the Ilissus are classic streams to us, so were the Nile and the Euphrates classic rivers to the Greeks and the Romans. Thence these received much that the Oriental peoples had invented or sought out in art, science, and philosophy.

The Greeks received the germs of their mimetic or sculptural art from the Euphrates by the way of Asia Minor. "Between the works of Ninevite artists and the early works of the Greeks," says Lenormant, "even to the *Æginetans*, we may observe an astonishing connection; the celebrated primitive bass-relief at Athens known by the common name of the 'Warrior of Marathon' seems as if detached from the walls of Khor-sabad or Koyunjik."* But the genius of the Greek artists always transformed what they borrowed. Beneath their touch "the hard and rigid lines of Assyrian sculpture," as Layard says, "were converted into the flowing draperies and classic forms of the highest order of art."

Fergusson sums up the results of his studies among the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis by asserting, "Egypt may, indeed, have been the schoolmistress from whom the ancient world derived half her science and her art; but the nations from whom we are descended were born in Assyria, and out of her they brought all their sympathies, all their innate civilization."† And Rawlinson, after acquainting himself with the

coveries after that of the key to the hieroglyphics of Egypt, was found by what has been termed a series of 'happy guesses.'"—Myers's "Remains of Lost Empires," p. 130, note.

* Lenormant's "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. p. 465.

† Fergusson's "Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 4.

arts and sciences of the Euphrates Valley, and the contents of the Assyrian libraries, declares that "it was from the East . . . that Greece derived her architecture, her sculpture, her science, her philosophy, her mathematical knowledge—in a word, her intellectual life." *

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 76.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BABYLONIAN MONARCHY.

(625-538 B.C.)

The Country and People.—The Babylonian monarchy occupied the lowland, or alluvial tract, of the Tigris and Euphrates valley, the seat of the early Chaldæan Kingdom. Although seventeen hundred years had passed since Nimrod made his conquests and Uruk built his temples, during which time the rivers had built up a considerable tract of new land at the head of the Gulf, and skilful irrigation had reclaimed wide strips of land from the inroads of the desert sands on the Arabian frontier, still, notwithstanding these changes, it will be sufficiently accurate for us to say that the Chaldæan and Babylonian monarchies grew up and flourished upon the same soil and beneath the same sky.

This fact will explain many resemblances which we shall not fail to notice between the Chaldæans and Babylonians, in their arts, manners, customs, religion, and government. And yet we shall be constantly reminded of Assyria; for during the period of Assyrian supremacy, Babylonia being a mere dependency of the northern empire, the language and many of the customs of the conquerors were introduced into the lower country, and a gradual transformation took place in the population. The people became at last completely Assyrianized. So some, viewing the Babylonians as simply the changed descendants of the Chaldæans, call this new empire, which we term the Babylonian, the Later Chaldæan.*

* The ethnic character of the early Chaldæans, and their relation to the

Babylonian Affairs from 1300 to 625 B.C. — During the six centuries and more that intervened between the conquest of the old Chaldæan monarchy by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Nin and the successful revolt of the low countries under Nabopolassar, the Babylonian peoples bore very impatiently the Assyrian yoke. Again and again they made violent efforts to throw it off; and in several instances they succeeded, and for a time enjoyed home rulers. But for the most part the whole country as far as the "Sea," as the Persian Gulf is called in the inscriptions, was a dependency of the great overshadowing empire of the north.

Two names, however, appear during this period which we should fix in our minds before we proceed to speak of the great kings of the later Babylonian monarchy. These are Nabonassar and Merodach-Baladan. The former reigned in Babylon about one hundred years before the overthrow of Nineveh (from 747 to 733 B.C.). He was evidently a man of great force of character; for under him Babylon succeeded in freeing herself from the Assyrian yoke, and enjoyed a short-lived independence. Nabonassar destroyed the records of the kings that preceded him, probably because he thought they reflected no glory on his country. Consequently, following ages were obliged to reckon dates from his reign, which was called the "Era of Nabonassar."

Merodach-Baladan (721-709 B.C.) is brought to our notice because it was he who, when Hezekiah, King of Judæa, was sick, and it was reported in Babylon that, as a sign of his recovery, the shadow had gone back several degrees on the dial of Ahaz, sent commissioners to Jerusalem, ostensibly to congratulate the Hebrew monarch on his recovery, and to make

later Babylonians, has been a matter of much discussion, but the facts are now very satisfactorily established, as above indicated. History abounds in instances of such transformation wrought on both conquered and conquering races. A whole series of words witnesses the fact; for instance, "Semitized," "Assyrianized," "Hellenized," "Romanized."

inquiry respecting the reported astronomical wonder, a matter in which the Chaldæan astrologers would be naturally interested. From what followed, it is thought that the embassy was really a political one, having for its object the forming of an alliance, embracing Judah, Egypt, and Babylonia, against the Assyrian king.

Nabopolassar (625–604 B.C.).—Nabopolassar was the first king of what is properly called the Babylonian monarchy. When troubles and misfortunes began to thicken about the last Assyrian king, Saracus, he intrusted to the care of Nabopolassar, as his viceroy, the towns and provinces of the South. The chance now presented of obtaining a crown proved too great a temptation for the satrap's fidelity to his master. He leagued with Cyaxares against his sovereign. For his treachery he received a double reward—the throne of Babylon for himself; and for his little son, the prince Nebuchadnezzar, he received as a bride the young and beautiful princess Amytis, daughter of the Median king.

Nabopolassar in his old age intrusted the conduct of important expeditions to his son Nebuchadnezzar, whose relations to his royal sire, and his brilliant victories over his father's enemies, remind us of the "Black Prince" and Edward III. of England.

Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B.C.).—Nebuchadnezzar was far away from Babylon, either in Southern Palestine or in Egypt, chastising Pharaoh-Necho for an invasion of Syria, when intelligence reached him of his father's death. He acted with that quick decision and energy which characterized all his subsequent life. Leaving his army to be led back to Babylonia by the usual military route up through Syria and around the northern edge of the desert, he himself, with a few attendants, pushed directly across the desert, and in a few days reached the capital, before any plots against his succession could be perfected.

With the energy of a Napoleon, Nebuchadnezzar now began the conduct of his brilliant campaigns, and the superintendence of those gigantic works that rendered Babylon the wonder of the Greeks, and have caused her name to pass into all histories and literatures as the synonym of material power and magnificence.

Jerusalem, having four times revolted, was as often subdued; the temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and of gold, which were carried away to Babylon; the people, save a miserable remnant, were also borne away into the "Great Captivity." Zedekiah, under whom the last revolt took place, was punished by having his eyes put out, after having seen "his sons slain before his face." The story of Daniel belongs to this period.

With Jerusalem subdued, Nebuchadnezzar pushed with all his forces the siege of the Phœnician city of Tyre, whose investment had been commenced several years before. After a siege of thirteen years, the city fell into the hands of the Babylonian king, and his authority was now undisputed from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean.

The numerous captives of his many wars, embracing peoples of almost every nation in Western Asia, enabled Nebuchadnezzar to rival even the Egyptian Rameses in the execution of enormous works requiring an immense expenditure of human labor. The works which we may with very great certainty ascribe to this prince are the following: the repair of the Great Walls of Babylon; the Great Palace in the royal quarter of the city; the famous Hanging Gardens; vast quays along the Euphrates, to confine it in its course through the capital; and gigantic reservoirs, canals, and various engineering works, embracing a vast system of irrigation that reached every part of Babylonia. In addition to all these works, the indefatigable monarch seems to have either rebuilt or repaired almost every city and temple throughout the entire country. There are said to be at least a hundred sites in the tract immediately about

Babylon which give evidence, by inscribed bricks bearing his legend, of the marvellous activity and energy of this monarch.*

In the midst of all these gigantic undertakings, surrounded by a brilliant court of councillors and flatterers, the reason of the king was suddenly and mysteriously clouded.† After a period the cloud passed away, "the glory of his kingdom, his honor, and brightness returned unto him." But it was the splendor of the evening; for the old monarch soon after died at the age of eighty, worn out by the toils and cares of a reign of forty-four years, the longest and most memorable and instructive in the annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings.

Successors of Nebuchadnezzar (561-555 B.C.).—The reigns of Evil-Merodach (son of Nebuchadnezzar), Neriglissar, and Labossoracus (Laborosoarchod) were all short and uneventful. The first and last both met with violent deaths. With Labossoracus ended the dynasty of Nabopolassar.

The Fall of Babylon.—In 555 B.C., Nabonadius, one of the nobles that had conspired against the life of the last sovereign, was placed upon the throne. He seems to have associated with him in the government his son Belshazzar, who shared with his father the duties and honors of royalty, apparently on terms of equal co-sovereignty.

To the east of the Valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, beyond the ranges of the Zagros, there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom, the Medo-Persian, which, at the time where we have now arrived, had excited by its aggressive

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 57.

† "Nebuchadnezzar fell a victim to that mental aberration which has often proved the penalty of despotism, but in the strange and degrading form to which physicians have given the name of lycanthropy; in which the patient, fancying himself a beast, rejects clothing and ordinary food, and even (as in this case) the shelter of a roof, disuses articulate speech, and sometimes persists in going on all-fours."—Smith's "Ancient History of the East," p. 357.

spirit the alarm of all the nations of Western Asia. For purposes of mutual defence, the King of Babylon, and Cræsus, the famous monarch of Lydia, a state of Asia Minor, formed an alliance against Cyrus, the strong and ambitious sovereign of the Medes and Persians. This league awakened the resentment of Cyrus, and after punishing Cræsus, and depriving him of his kingdom, he collected his forces to chastise the Babylonian king.

It is related that, while the Persian army was crossing the Gnydes, a river that separated the frontiers of the Persian and Babylonian empires, one of the sacred white horses attached to the chariot of Ormazd was drowned; and that Cyrus, to punish the insolence of the river, set his soldiers to work and dug three hundred and sixty channels, whereby the waters of the stream were dispersed and absorbed in the sands of the desert. The story is not an improbable one; for we know that Xerxes scourged the Hellespont for breaking to pieces his bridge of boats. The Persian kings entertained the idea that the powers of nature ought to be obedient to them and subservient to their wishes and plans.

With the insolent river chastised, Cyrus advanced into the plain of Babylonia. Nabonadius risked a battle in the open field, but his army was scattered and driven within the walls of the capital. The king himself, however, with a part of his forces, took refuge in the city of Borsippa, a little to the south of Babylon. The prince, Belshazzar, had thus devolved upon him the defence of the capital.

Had the Babylonians been vigilant, it is very doubtful whether Cyrus would have been able to reduce the city to submission, so strong were its walls and so well provided were its inhabitants with provisions for a long siege. But the youthful Belshazzar, insolent in his fancied security, neglected even the most ordinary measures of precaution. The river gates, which led into the heart of the city from the quays along the banks of the Euphrates, were, it would seem, left open or improperly

guarded. At the dead of night, when the young king and all his court were giving themselves up to song and revelry, attendant upon the celebration of a great Babylonian festival, Cyrus, having previously dug with great labor immense channels, turned the course of the Euphrates, which ran directly through the city enclosure, and then led his troops along the river bed till within the line of the ramparts. Upon mounting the river steps, the soldiers found, as they had hoped, the gates unguarded, and in a few moments were in the streets of the capital. The cry of alarm ran along the broad avenues,* and at last fell upon the affrighted ears of the revellers in the palace. To add to their dismay, a warning hand, it is said, appeared against the wall, and traced there the words *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*, which Daniel, hastily called, interpreted to the king as meaning, "God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldæans, slain"† (538 B.C.).

Nabonadius, shut up in Borsippa, yielded to inevitable fate and surrendered to Cyrus, who not only spared his life, but generously gave him a position of trust and honor in his kingdom. That kingdom now embraced the greater part of Western Asia.

The Transfer of Empire.—By the fall of Babylon, the seat of empire in the East, which now for nearly two thousand years (from 2300 to 538 B.C.) had been in the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, moving up and down those rivers—finding an abode first at Ur, then at Nineveh, and lastly at Babylon—was transferred to Persepolis, the Persian capital, on the tablelands of Iran. Thus the sceptre of universal sovereignty, borne

* "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at *one* end."—Jer. li. 31.

† Dan. v. 30.

first by the Hamitic race, then for so many centuries swayed by the Semitic, was now given to the Aryan, which race was destined from this time on to shape the course of events and control the affairs of civilization.

The Great Edifices of Babylon.

The deep impression which Babylon produced upon the early Greek travellers was effected chiefly by her vast architectural works—her temples, palaces, and elevated gardens. The famous Hanging Gardens of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Walls of the city, were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World.

The Temple of the Seven Spheres.—The Babylonians, like their predecessors the Chaldæans, accorded to the sacred edifices the place of pre-eminence among their architectural works. Upon the temples of the gods were lavished the wealth of the people and the skill of their artists. Sacred architecture in the time of Nebuchadnezzar had changed but little from the early Chaldæan models; only the temples were now larger, and more sumptuous in their embellishments, being made, in the language of the inscriptions, “to shine like the sun.”

The celebrated Temple of the Seven Spheres, which may serve as a representative of the later Babylonian temples, was located at Borsippa, a suburb of Babylon proper. This structure was a vast pyramid, 270 feet square at the base, and rising in seven successive stages, or platforms, to a height of 156 feet. Each of the stages was dedicated to one of the seven planets, or spheres. (The sun and moon were reckoned as planets.) Various means were adopted to give the platforms the conventional tint assigned to the different planetary bodies. Thus the stages sacred to the sun and moon were covered respectively with plates of gold and silver.*

The chapel, or shrine proper, surmounted the uppermost

* “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” vol. xviii. art. i. p. 6.

stage, and, as described by Herodotus, must have been sumptuous in the extreme. The tower, thus crowned by the sanctuary and zoned with all the planetary colors, with the gilded stages glistening, as the inscriptions declare, "like the sun," presented a splendid and imposing appearance, that struck every beholder with astonishment and awe.

An inscribed cylinder discovered under the corner of one of the stages (the Babylonians always buried records beneath the corners of their public edifices) informs us that this temple was the restoration by Nebuchadnezzar of a very ancient one, which in his day had become, from "extreme old age," a heap of rubbish.* Some scholars have thought that the decayed edifice thus restored by Nebuchadnezzar was the unfinished Tower of Babel, of which great undertaking by the primitive people of Babylonia we have several confused traditions among the Chaldæan legends, besides an account handed down by the Hebrews.

This edifice in its decay has left one of the grandest and most impressive ruins in all the East. The great mass of the crumbled stages is now deeply furrowed with ravines worn by the rains of twenty centuries, and at a distance over the level desert appears like a mountain crowned with ruined walls.

Palaces.—The Babylonian palaces were so like those of the Assyrians, already described, that any detailed account of them

* "And by his [the god Marduk's] power," says the inscription, "I rebuilt the Temple of the Seven Spheres, which is the tower of Borsippa, which a former king had built, and had raised it to the height of forty-two cubits, but had not completed its crown or summit: from extreme old age it had crumbled down. The water-courses which once drained it had been entirely neglected. From their own weight the bricks had fallen down. . . . Then the great Lord Marduk moved my heart to complete this temple; for its site or foundation had not been destroyed. . . . Its summit and its upper story I made like the old ones. I rebuilt entirely this upper portion, and I made its crown or summit as it had been planned in former days." —"Journal of the Asiatic Society," vol. xviii. art. ii.

here is unnecessary. They were built upon platforms, or enormous substructions, similar to those we have seen at Nineveh. One of the largest of these, called by the natives El-Kasr, which supported the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar, covers an area of over one hundred acres. Its height varies from sixty to ninety feet. Numerous excavations have been made in this mound by the natives, in search of bricks. For two thousand years Babylon has been an inexhaustible brick quarry. Selucia of the Greeks, Al-Maydan of the Persians, and Cufa and Bagdad of the caliphs, were all built of material mined from these ruins. All the modern towns and caravansaries of the adjoining regions are constructed chiefly of brick dug out of the ruined edifices of the old capital. The Arab brick-merchants of the country, at the present day, engage as a regular business in the work of quarrying material from the old mounds and walls.

The Hanging Gardens.—This structure excited the greatest admiration of the ancient Greek visitors to Babylon. It was constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. The edifice was probably built somewhat in the form of the tower-temples, stages being erected one upon another, so as to form a vast pyramidal structure. The successive terraces, which overhung the city at a great height, were covered with earth, and beautified with rare plants and trees, so as to simulate the appearance of a mountain rising in cultivated terraces towards the sky. The gardens were irrigated by means of curious hydraulic devices, which elevated and distributed over the terraces water drawn from the Euphrates.*

* Recent excavations (1880-81) made by Hormuzd Rassam amid the ruins of Babylon have resulted in important and interesting discoveries. At what is called the Babel mound, one of the largest and most imposing upon the ancient site, the explorer has brought to light ruined hydraulic

The Walls of Babylon.—The walls of Babylon proper are represented at the present time by enormous ramparts about eight miles in circuit, in every respect similar to those at Nineveh. Within these defences lie most of the heaps and mounds that mark the position of the various Babylonian edifices.

Under the later kings, it appears that walls of vast strength and circuit were constructed. Herodotus says that these walls enclosed an area just fourteen miles square. An inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, recently discovered, exactly confirms the statements of the historian. The space they enclosed must not be regarded as a city, but rather as a fortified district. The walls embraced several cities, including Babylon proper and Borsippa. We may compare these ramparts to the long walls of Themistocles, by means of which Athens was united

works of great extent, reservoirs, and stone-lined aqueducts evidently designed for bringing water from the Euphrates. These discoveries seem to point out the great Babel mound as the remains of the celebrated Gardens of Nebuchadnezzar. "The supposition receives additional support from the recovery of a small inscribed tablet, which clearly proves the fondness of the Babylonian kings for horticulture. A scribe attached to one of the palace or temple libraries of Babylonia has transmitted to us a list of the gardens or paradises of the Babylonian monarch Merodach-Baladan, the contemporary of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Hezekiah. This monarch appears to have been a lavish patron of horticulture, for the list furnishes the names of more than sixty gardens and parks in and about Babylon constructed by the royal order." . . . The explorer has also added many valuable tablets to those collected by George Smith, of the British Museum. The matter held by some of these documents is of intense interest. "They show that for a long period, probably several centuries, the family of the Beni Egibi were the leading commercial firm of Babylon, and to them was confided all the business of the Babylonian ministry of finance. The building whose ruins are marked by the mound of Jumjuma was the *chancellerie* of the firm, and from its ruins come the records of every class of monetary transaction. . . . From the tax receipts we learn how the revenue was raised by duties levied on land, on crops of dates, and even on cattle, by imposts for the use of the irrigation canals, and for the use of the public roads." In view of what has been already secured, we may reasonably hope for a rich harvest from the more thorough working of the Babylonian mounds.

with her seaports. The object in enclosing such an enormous district seems to have been to bring sufficient cultivatable ground within the defences to support the inhabitants in case of a protracted siege. No certain traces of these outer ramparts can now be found.*

* Herodotus says the walls were eighty-five feet thick and three hundred and twenty-five feet high. Strabo gives thirty-two feet for the thickness, and seventy-three feet for the height. There was an inner wall, very inferior to the great outer wall, and enclosing only about one half of the area embraced by the latter. (Neither of these must be confused with the wall that surrounded the royal city, or Babylon proper.) "Both the violence of man and the action of the elements combined to break these ramparts down. Cyrus dismantled them; and when the city was retaken by Darius, after its revolt from the Persian authority, that conqueror reduced the height, in order that the city might not possess such powers of resistance a second time to his army; and thus again Xerxes, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Alexander are all said to have successively dismantled and broken down the reduced ramparts. If these conquerors did not throw them down entirely, the elements could easily have completed the work; for the walls were only earthen ramparts, and would readily drop back into the deep moat from which the material had been taken."—"Remains of Lost Empires," p. 248.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHALDÆAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES AND KINGS.

(Based on the Authority of Rawlinson.)

	Dynasties or Periods.	Kings.	B.C.
Chaldæan.	Chaldæan (?-2286 B.C.).....	Nimrod, founder of the empire.....	about 2300
		Uruk.....	"
		Ilgi.....	"
		Kudur-Nakhunta (Zoroaster) conquers Chaldæa.....	2286
	Elamite (2286-2052 B.C.).....	Kudur-Lagamer (Chedorlaomer), contemporary with Abraham.....	about 2000
		Unknown (2052-2004 B.C.)	
	Chaldæan (2004-1546 B.C.).....	Ismi-dagon.....	about 1850-1830
		Nur-Vul.....	" 1586-1566
		Rim-Sin.....	" 1566-1546
Assyrian.	Arab (1546-1301 B.C.).....	Khammu-rabi.....	" 1546-1520
		Succession of obscure names.	
		Chaldæa conquered by Tiglath-Nin...	1300
	Early Empire (?-1300 B.C.).....	First names obscure and dates uncertain.	
		Bel-lush.....	about 1380-1360
		Pud-il.....	" 1360-1340
		Vul-lush I.....	" 1340-1320
		Shalmaneser I.....	" 1320-1300
		Tiglath-Nin, conqueror of Chaldæa. " * * * * *	1300-1280
	Great Empire (1300-745 B.C.)	Tiglath-pileser I.....	about 1130-1110
		Vul-lush II.....	911-889
		Tiglath-Nin II.....	889-883
		Asshur-izer-pal.....	883-858
		Shalmaneser II.....	858-823
		Shamas-Vul II.....	823-810
		Vul-lush III.....	810-781
		Shalmaneser III.....	781-771
		Asshur-dayan III.....	771-753
		Asshur-lush.....	753-745
Babylonian.	Later Empire (745-625 B.C.)	Tiglath-pileser II.....	745-727
		Shalmaneser IV.....	727-722
		Sargon.....	722-705
		Sennacherib.....	705-681
		Esarhaddon.....	681-668
		Asshur-bani-pal.....	668-625
	First Period (1300-625 B.C.)	Asshur-emid-ilin (Saracus).....	625
		Babylon ruled, for the most part, by Assyrian viceroys.....	1300-747
		Re-establishes her independence under Nabonassar.....	747
		Merodach-Baladan.....	721-709
		Assyrian Sargon reconquers Babylon..	709
		Successive revolts and their suppression.	709-626
		Assyrian Empire destroyed and Babylon becomes independent.....	625
		Nabopolassar.....	625-604
		Nebuchadnezzar.....	604-561
		Evil-Merodach.....	561-559
	Second Period (625-538 B.C.)	Neriglissar.....	559-556
		Labossoracus.....	556-555
		Nabonadius.....	555-538
		Belshazzar (shares the government with his father).	

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HEBREW NATION.

Importance of Hebrew History.—The history of no other people in so eminent a degree as that of the Hebrew nation illustrates the fact—a fact which we must in our study keep steadily in view—that the germ of all that is best in our modern civilization is to be sought among the institutions of antiquity. The nations already passed in review enriched the world by their labors and discoveries in art, science, and philosophy. The Hebrews did nothing in these matters. Their mission was a grander one—to teach righteousness. Of all the elements of the rich legacy bequeathed to the modern by the ancient world, by far the most important, in their influence upon the course of events, were those transmitted to us by the ancient Hebrews.

The Patriarchal Age.—Hebrew story begins with the departure of Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, about 2000 B.C. This patriarch was one of the most remarkable personages of the ancient world. Although living in the midst of a people engrossed in a polytheistic nature-worship, he professed a simple belief in one God. Stirred by the idolatry about him, inspired with a grand faith in God, and firm in the conviction that his was destined to be the idea and worship of the future, Abraham left the land of his fathers, and led his little band of dissenters across the Mesopotamian plains, over the Euphrates, and up into the hill country now known as Palestine, which overlooks the Mediterranean.

The story of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his

sons Jacob and Esau, and of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob, is told in the Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made all these names the familiar possessions of childhood.

During all the Patriarchal Age, the descendants of Abraham felt themselves to be strangers and sojourners in a country not their own. Their life was the simple wandering one of the Bedawin of to-day, who each summer come up from the Mesopotamian region, and dot the valleys and plains of this same land with their black tents and flocks. In the times of the Hebrew patriarchs, this region seems to have been but sparsely settled, and these wanderers from beyond the Euphrates were permitted to rove over the country about at will. Thus moving from place to place in search of pasturage for their flocks, they pitched their tents on almost every spot in Palestine.

The Hebrews in Egypt (from 18th to 14th century B.C.?). An event of frequent occurrence in the East now gave an entirely new turn to Hebrew history. A long drought, and consequent failure of crops and pasturage in Palestine, forced the families of Israel to look to the more favored Valley of the Nile for sustenance for themselves and their flocks. The way for their kind reception by the King of Egypt had been providentially prepared. Joseph, having been sold by his jealous brothers into slavery, had won, through the generosity of events and his personal ability, the favor of the Egyptian monarch, and had been advanced to the position of prime-minister of the empire. Through his regard for his trusted minister, Pharaoh admitted the Hebrews to an audience, and assigned them lands for their families and flocks in the land of Goshen, a most fertile section of the Delta country, and one well adapted to their pastoral habits. Here the Hebrews increased rapidly in numbers, and soon became an important element in the Egyptian state.

A change in the ruling dynasty led to an entire reversal of

the policy of the Egyptian sovereigns in their treatment of the Hebrews, as well as of other Semitic peoples whom migratory movements had brought into the Delta from the neighboring regions of Asia. Fearing their increasing numbers, lest in case of invasion or revolt they should join the enemies of the Egyptians—an apprehension not by any means groundless, for the country had but just been delivered from those Asiatic intruders called the Shepherd Kings—a severe persecution was waged against them. They were treated like prisoners of war, and by unfeeling taskmasters forced to hard labor upon the various edifices of the Pharaohs. All their male children were destroyed. The persecution gradually assumed a religious character, and became more bitter; for the pure monotheism of the Hebrews and the debased animal-worship of the Egyptians were in direct antagonism. A long and severe contest arose between Moses and Aaron, the leaders of the Hebrews, and the priests and magicians of the Egyptians.

Moses had been providentially prepared for the part he was to act in this great struggle, and for leadership among the tribes of Israel in this crisis of their affairs. Forty years of his life had been spent in Egypt as a member of the court of the reigning Pharaoh, and also as a pupil in the celebrated colleges of the priests, where he became “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.” At length, obliged to flee from the country because of sympathy with his oppressed kinsmen the Hebrews—which he had manifested in an act of violence—he sought a refuge in the land of Midian, and here, as a shepherd, passed forty other years in solitude and in thought amidst the dreary scenes of the Arabian Desert. Impelled at last by a divine call that came to him amidst these occupations and scenes, he returned to the Valley of the Nile, and announced himself to his brethren as their appointed deliverer from their hated bondage.

The contest which we have seen begun between the children of Israel and the Egyptian rulers was now brought to an

abrupt termination. A series of plagues and calamities, falling with terrible swiftness and fatal effect upon the country and its people, led Pharaoh to yield to the demands of the Hebrews—to which were now joined the entreaties of his own afflicted people—and to suffer them to depart out of the country. Hastily mustering the different tribes, Moses led the vast multitude—there were 600,000 fighting-men—towards the eastern frontier of Egypt.

The **Exodus** (14th century B.C.?).—Although Pharaoh, while under the fear produced by the wonderful and calamitous events of the preceding months, had consented to the departure of the Israelites, still no sooner did he see himself about to be deprived of this vast number of subjects and slaves than he repented of having granted the permission, and determined to detain them by force.

Gathering a large army of foot and chariot, he set out in hot pursuit of the fugitives, and overtook them just as they reached the shores of the Red Sea, near its head. Hemmed in as they were by the sea and the desert, certain destruction seemed to await the fleeing multitude. But with the night came on a strong east wind, which drove back the waters of the gulf, so as to lay bare the bottom of the channel, and to permit the passage of the fugitives, under cover of the darkness. In the first dawn of the morning, Pharaoh and his host, pushing on in mad pursuit, were caught by the returning tides, which, by a sudden change in the wind, came back in their strength; and the army, thrown into confusion and embarrassed by the disabled chariots, was overwhelmed in the treacherous quicksands.

From this eventful night dates the birth of the Hebrew nation. The great deliverance touched the hearts of all with a common and intense enthusiasm. It colored the whole subsequent history of Israel, and is the key to very much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the story of this peculiar people. The convictions that were born out of the wonderful

event were the source, and are the explanation, of much of the resolution and religious zeal exhibited in succeeding passages of the nation's history.

The forty years following this event were consumed in weary wanderings up and down the Sinaitic peninsula. During this time the generation that came out of Egypt, and to whom clung all the instincts of their life of slavery, were replaced by a new generation inured to the hardships of the desert, and by this discipline prepared for the conquest of the land of Palestine, for which work their fathers had shown themselves unfitted by shamefully recoiling from the attempt when Moses wished to lead them against the strongholds of the tribes that held the southern frontier of Philistia. Amidst the "terrific scenery" of the southern portion of the peninsula, they were given, from Mount Sinai, the law which formed the basis of all their national institutions.

At last, with the long-intermitted march resumed, Moses led the tribes by a great detour to the eastern frontier of Palestine, thus avoiding the strongly garrisoned forts and cities of the south, and bringing the armies of Israel upon the comparatively unprotected flank of the country. From the mountains of Moab, which overhang the Valley of the Jordan, the great leader and prophet of Israel was privileged, from some commanding height, to cast his eyes over the land promised unto his fathers. Here, in sight of the longed-for country, he died amidst the mountains of Moab; but "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

Conquest of Canaan and Apportionment of the Land.—Joshua, the successor of Moses, led the people across the Jordan; and after the capture of Jericho, a walled city situated in the river plain just above the head of the Dead Sea, proceeded to the work of subjugating the different tribes of the hill country of Palestine. Two campaigns, one conducted towards the south and the other to the north, placed the larger part of the land in the possession of the Hebrews.

The conquered territory was now apportioned among the different tribes, the two tribes of Gad and Reuben and half the tribe of Manasseh being permitted to settle upon land to the east of the Jordan, the inviting nature of which had struck them while marching through that region.

Thus, after one of the most remarkable migratory movements of which any annals have been preserved, were the tribes of Israel brought again, as its permanent settlers, to the land over which, five hundred years before, their ancestors had roved, with their flocks and tents, as strangers and as pilgrims.

The Judges (from 1300 B.C. ? to 1095 B.C.).—A long period of anarchy and dissensions followed the conquest and allotment of the land. "There was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." During this time there arose a long line of national heroes, such as Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages.

These popular leaders were called judges because they usually exercised judicial functions, acting as arbiters between the different tribes, as well as between man and man. Othniel, a relative of Caleb, the friend and companion of Joshua, was the first Judge of Israel. He was followed by Ehud, who by stratagem slew Eglon, King of Moab. "And after him was Shamgar the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad: and he also delivered Israel." We are told that at this time among forty thousand Israelites there was not to be found a single spear or shield.

Deborah was a poet and prophet as well as judge. This wonderful person brings to our mind Joan of Arc in French history; and the parallel will aid us in comprehending the character and mission of the Hebrew heroine. Her influence seems to have been almost unbounded. She inspired Barak, of the

tribe of Naphtali, to attempt the deliverance of Israel out of the hands of Jabin, a powerful Canaanitish ruler, who could bring into the field nine hundred chariots of iron, and who for twenty years had "mightily oppressed the children of Israel." The overthrow and death of Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, are celebrated by Deborah in a wild and exultant song that ranks among the most remarkable of the martial poems produced by the rude and barbarous age of any people.*

Towards the close of the dark, confused, and transitional period of the Judges is placed Samson, the most renowned, in some respects, of the heroes of Israel. With his adventurous exploits and feats of strength every one is familiar. They are narrated in the Book of Judges, which is a collection of the fragmentary, yet always interesting, traditions of this early and heroic period of the nation's life. The last of the Judges was Samuel, whose life embraces the close of the anarchical age and the beginning of the monarchy.

Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (1095 B.C.).—During the period of the Judges, the tribes of Israel were united by no central government. Their union was nothing more than a league, or confederation, which has been compared to the Saxon Heptarchy in England. But the common dangers to which they were exposed from the attacks of the half-subdued Canaanitish tribes about them, and the example of the great kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, led the people to begin to think of the advantages of a closer union and a stronger government. Consequently the republic, or confederation, was changed into a kingdom, and Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, a man chosen chiefly because of his commanding stature and royal aspect, was made king of the new monarchy (1095 B.C.).

The king was successful in subduing the enemies of the Hebrews, and consolidated the tribes and settled the affairs of the new state. But towards the close of his reign, his reason

* See Judges v.

became disturbed : fits of gloom and despondency passed into actual insanity, which clouded the closing years of his life. At last he and his three sons fell in battle with the Philistines upon Mount Gilboa (1055 B.C.).

The Reign of David (1055-1015 B.C.).—Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, who had been previously anointed and encouraged to expect the crown by the high-priest Samuel, assumed the sceptre. After crushing the attempt made by the surviving son of Saul (Ishbosheth) to secure the throne of his father, and reducing to allegiance all the tribes, David set about enlarging and strengthening his dominions.

There were yet many Canaanitish strongholds in the land, the defenders of which the Israelites had been unable to dislodge. In the midst of the district allotted to the tribe of Judah was the strong fortress of Jebus, possessed by the Jebusites. David succeeded in capturing this place by stratagem, and, under the name of Jerusalem, made it his capital city. This warlike king transformed the pastoral and half-civilized tribes into a conquering people, and, in imitation of the monarchs of the Nile and the Euphrates, extended the limits of his empire in every direction, and waged wars of extermination against the troublesome tribes of Moab and Edom.

Poet as well as warrior, David enriched the literature of his own nation and of the world with lyric songs that breathe such a spirit of devotion and trust that they have been ever since his day the source of comfort and inspiration to thousands. He had in mind to build at Jerusalem a magnificent temple, and spent the latter years of his life in collecting material for this purpose. In dying he left the crown to Solomon, his youngest son, his eldest, Absalom, having been slain in a revolt against his father, and the second, Adonijah, having been excluded from the succession for a similar crime.

The Reign of Solomon (1015-975 B.C.).—Solomon did not

possess his father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of architecture, commerce, and learning. He erected, with the utmost magnificence of adornment, the temple at Jerusalem, planned by his father David. King Hiram of Tyre, who was a close friend of the Hebrew monarch, aided him in this undertaking by supplying him with the celebrated cedar of Lebanon, and with Tyrian architects, the most skilled workmen at that time in the world. The dedication ceremonies upon the completion of the building were most imposing and impressive. Thenceforth this temple was the centre of the Jewish worship and of the national life.

For the purpose of extending his commerce, Solomon built fleets upon the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The most remote regions of Asia and Africa were visited by his ships, and their rich and wonderful products made to contribute to the wealth and glory of his kingdom. To facilitate the overland trade with the Valley of the Euphrates and the regions beyond, he built Tadmor (Palmyra), a sort of caravansary in the midst of the Syrian Desert. As a great depot of the trade of the East, this desert city soon attained importance, and in later times, under Zenobia, became the rival of Rome.

Solomon maintained one of the most magnificent courts ever held by Oriental sovereign. When the Queen of Sheba, attracted by the reports of his glory, came from Southern Arabia to visit the monarch, she exclaimed, "The half was not told me." He was the wisest king of the East. His proverbs are famous specimens of sententious wisdom. He wrote the Song of Songs, and perhaps the Book of Ecclesiastes—the latter when the pomp and pleasures of life were palling upon him. He was versed in botany, being acquainted with plants and trees, "from the hyssop upon the wall to the cedar of Lebanon."

But, wise as was Solomon in his words, his life was far from being either admirable or prudent. In conformity to Asiatic custom, he had many wives—seven hundred, we are told—of different nationalities and religions. Through their persuasion

the old monarch himself fell into idolatry, which turned from him the affections of his best subjects, and prepared the way for the dissensions and wars that followed his death.

The Division of the Kingdom (975 B.C.).—The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings, he had laid most oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes that were making their very lives a burden. Influenced by young and unwise counsellors, he replied to the petition with haste and insolence: "My father," said he, "chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." Immediately all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up, to the north of Jerusalem, a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, with Samaria as its capital, became known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have maintained an empire capable of offering successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land becomes an easy prey to the spoiler. It is henceforth the pathway of the conquering armies of the Nile and the Euphrates. Between the powerful monarchies of these regions, as between an upper and nether millstone, the little kingdoms are destined, one after the other, to be ground to pieces.

The Kingdom of Israel (975-721 B.C.).—The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained an existence for about two hundred and fifty years. Its story is instructive and sad. Many passages of its history are recitals of the struggles between the pure worship of Jehovah and the idolatrous services of the deities introduced from the surrounding nations. During the reign of Ahab and

his infamous queen Jezebel, the quarrel between the two religious parties issued in bitter persecutions and massacres. The cause of the religion of Jehovah, as the tribes of Israel had received it from the patriarch Abraham and the lawgiver Moses, was boldly espoused and upheld by a line of the most remarkable teachers and prophets produced by the Hebrew race, among whom Elijah and Elisha stand pre-eminent. With undaunted courage and unswerving loyalty to the divine monitions, they condemned the idolatry and corruption of the times, and labored to lead the people back to the earlier and purer faith of their fathers.

But all was in vain ; and at last the thoroughly corrupt and enfeebled nation falls into the power of the Assyrian monarch. This happened 721 B.C., when Samaria, as we have already narrated in the history of Assyria, was captured by Sargon, King of Nineveh, and the Ten Tribes were carried away into captivity beyond the Euphrates. From this time they are quite lost to history.

The country, left nearly vacant by this wholesale deportation of its inhabitants, was filled with other subjects or captives of the Assyrian king. The descendants of these, mingled with the few Jews of the poorer class that were still left in the country, formed the Samaritans of the time of Christ.

The Kingdom of Judah (975-588 B.C.).—This little kingdom, torn by internal religious dissensions, as was its rival kingdom of the north, and often on the very verge of ruin from Egyptian or Assyrian armies, maintained an independent existence for about four centuries. During this period, a line of eighteen kings, of most diverse characters, sat upon the throne. Upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.

The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful king of Babylon, in revenge for

an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem, and carried away the people and their king, Zedekiah, into captivity at Babylon. This event occurred one hundred and thirty-three years after the leading of the Ten Tribes into captivity by the Assyrians. It virtually ended the separate and political life of the Hebrew race (588 B.C.). Henceforth Judah constitutes simply a province of the empires—Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman—which successively held sway over the regions of Western Asia, with, however, just one flicker of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ.

It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus, that monarch, kindly disposed towards the Jews that he there found captives, permitted them to return to Jerusalem and restore the Temple. Jerusalem thus became again the centre of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred centre of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans; while vast numbers of the inhabitants—some authorities say over one million—were slain, or perished by famine, and the remnant were driven into exile in different lands.

Thus by a series of unparalleled calamities and persecutions were the descendants of Abraham “sifted among all nations;” but to this day they cling with a strange devotion and loyalty to the simple faith of their fathers.

Hebrew Religion and Literature.

The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing: their religion forbade their making “graven images.” Their mission, as we have already said, was to teach religion. Here they have been the instructors of the

world. Their literature is a religious one; for literature with them was simply a medium for the conveyance of religious instruction and the awakening of devotional feeling.

The Hebrew religion, a pure monotheism, the teachings of a long line of holy men—patriarchs, lawgivers, prophets, and priests—stretching from Abraham down to the fifth century B.C., is contained in the sacred books of the Old Testament Scriptures. In these ancient writings, patriarchal traditions, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narrative blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the various migrations, the deliverances, the calamities—all the events and religious experiences in the checkered life of the Chosen People.

Out of this old exclusive, formal Hebrew religion, transformed and spiritualized by the Great Teacher who spake as never man spake, grew the Christian faith. Out of the Old Testament arose the New, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature; for although written in the Greek language, and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, still it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, The Bible (The Book), it only remains to mention the Apocrypha, embracing a number of books written originally in Greek, and regarded by both Jews and Christians as uncanonical; the Talmud, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions, with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book; the writings of Philo, a famous rabbi who lived at Alexandria just before the birth of Christ; and the "Antiquities of the Jews" and the "Jewish Wars" by the historian Josephus, who lived and wrote about the time of the taking of Jerusalem by Titus—that is, during the latter part of the first century after Christ.

JUDGES OF ISRAEL.

Othniel,	Abimelech,	Elon,
Ehud,	Tola,	Abdon,
Shamgar,	Jair,	Eli,
Deborah,	Jephthah,	Samson,
Gideon,	Ibzan,	Samuel.

The chronology of the period of the Judges is very uncertain. The era covers something like three centuries, embraced between the death of Joshua and the establishment of the Monarchy, 1095 B.C. Moses and Aaron are not usually reckoned among the Judges, although they both exercised judicial functions.

KINGS OF THE UNITED MONARCHY.

	B.C.
Saul.....	1095-1055
David.....	1055-1015
Solomon.....	1015-975

DIVISION OF MONARCHY, 975 B.C.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.	B.C.	KINGS OF JUDAH.	B.C.
Jeroboam.....	975-954	Rehoboam.....	975-958
Nadab.....	954-953	Abijam.....	958-956
Baasha.....	953-930	Asa.....	956-916
Elah.....	930-929	Jehoshaphat.....	916-892
Zimri.....	929	Jehoram.....	892-885
Omri.....	929-918	Ahaziah.....	885-884
Ahab.....	918-897	Athaliah.....	884-878
Ahaziah.....	897-896	Joash.....	878-838
Jehoram.....	896-884	Amaziah.....	838-809
Jehu.....	884-856	Azariah.....	809-757
Jehoahaz.....	856-839	Jotham.....	757-742
Joash.....	839-823	Ahaz.....	742-726
Jeroboam II.....	823-772	Hezekiah.....	726-697
Zachariah.....	772	Manasseh.....	697-642
Shallum.....	772	Amon.....	642-640
Menahem.....	772-762	Josiah.....	640-609
Pekahiah.....	762-760	Jehoahaz.....	609
Pekah.....	760-730	Jehoiakim.....	609-598
Hoshea.....	730-721	Jehoiachin.....	598-597
Sargon captures Samaria.	721	Zedekiah.....	597-588

CHAPTER IX.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

Origin of the Phœnicians.—Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken sea-coast lying between the Mediterranean and the ranges of Mount Lebanon. The first settlers of this maritime region were probably kinsmen of the Canaanitish tribes.* In very remote times—that is, about 2300 B.C.—the ancestors of all these peoples dwelt in the regions bordering upon the Persian Gulf. Uprooted from those original seats by invading tribes, they traversed the Mesopotamian plains, and came into Palestine some time before the arrival of Abraham from the same region; for we are told that when the patriarch led his flocks into Palestine “the Canaanite was then in possession of the land.”

Although the larger part of the migratory bands appear to have settled in the country which afterwards became known as the Promised Land, still some of the tribes pressed on to the sea-coast, and took possession of the region called by the Greeks Phœnicia. Still other clans of the same race pushed southward into the Delta of the Nile, establishing there the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, of whom we have given an account in connection with the history of the Egyptians.

While the Hyksos, from their fortified camp of Avaris, were extending their authority over the old civilization of the Nile, the kindred tribes that had settled on the tract of sea-coast overlooked by Mount Lebanon were establishing fishing-stations, and laying the foundation of the first and foremost maritime power of the early world.

* See pp. 4–6, paragraphs on “The Hamitic People” and “The Semitic Nations.”

Products of the Country.—One of the celebrated productions of Phœnicia was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The “cedar of Lebanon” holds a prominent place both in the history and the poetry of the East. Another famous product of the country was the Tyrian purple, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shell-fish yielded by the fisheries of the coast. There were different shades of the dye: that extracted from the variety of the murex inhabiting the seas about the rock of Tyre was the most brilliant, and, being reserved almost exclusively for the vestments of royalty, was called the “royal purple.”

Tyre and Sidon.—The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted simply a sort of league, or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the suzerainty of Tyre or Sidon, the two chief cities. The latter at first held the place of supremacy in the confederation, until that city was overthrown by the Philistines, 1050 B.C. Upon that event Tyre, a little to the south of Sidon, built partly upon the mainland and partly upon a “rock in the midst of the waves,” assumed the position of leadership among the Phœnician communities.

For more than seven centuries Tyre controlled the affairs of Phœnicia; and during this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread the fame of the little island capital throughout the world. She was queen and mistress of the Mediterranean. The kings of Tyre had but little of the ambition for territorial aggrandizement that characterized the monarchs of their times. So long as they controlled the commerce of the seas they were content. When Solomon offered King Hiram, for aid rendered in building the temple, twenty cities and towns, the Tyrian monarch chose instead oil, wheat, and other products of Palestine.

During all the last centuries of her existence, Phœnicia was,

for the most part, tributary to one or another of the great monarchies about her. She acknowledged in turn the suzerainty of the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian kings. Alexander, after a most memorable siege, captured the city of Tyre—which alone of all the Phœnician cities closed her gates against the conqueror—and reduced it to ruins (332 B.C.). She never recovered from this blow. The site of the once brilliant maritime capital is now “bare as the top of a rock,” a place where the few fishers that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

Phœnician Commerce.—When we catch our first glimpse of the Mediterranean, about 1800 B.C., it is dotted with the sails of Phœnician navigators. It was natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them in from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise; while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships. The Phœnicians, indeed, were the first navigators who pushed out boldly from the shores and made real sea voyages. They crossed the Mediterranean in every direction with their ships, distributing the manufactures of Asia among the different peoples of Southern Europe, that were now just rising above the lowest stages of culture, and from those regions brought back articles in quest among the merchants of the East.

The longest voyages were made to procure tin, which was in great demand for the manufacture of articles in bronze. The nearest region where this metal occurred was the Caucasus, on the eastern shore of the Euxine. The Phœnician sailors boldly threaded the Ægean Archipelago, passed through the Hellespont, braved the unknown terrors of the Black Sea, and from the land of Colchis brought back to the manufacturers of Asia

the coveted article—more precious than the Golden Fleece of the Argonauts.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century B.C., the jealousy of the Pelasgic states of Greece and the Archipelago, that were now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean Sea against the Phœnician navigators. They then pushed out into the Western Mediterranean, and opened the tin-mines of the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. When these began to fail, these bold sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, faced the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those distant seas the tin gathered in the mines of Britain.

Phœnician Colonies.—Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established factories, naval stations, and trading-posts. Thus the islands and shores of the Mediterranean became studded with naval depots and establishments that in time grew into important centres of trade and civilization.

The stations first established by the Phœnicians were simply factories and stopping-places for their ships. They were not colonies in the sense that they were the new seats of a surplus population. But an important event in Palestine now gave them an entirely different character. About the close of the 14th century B.C., the children of Israel crossed the frontier of that country, and almost at a blow destroyed thirty-five of the Canaanitish states. The inhabitants were either slaughtered or pushed back towards the sea-coast, where they crowded into the cities of the Phœnicians. This influx of refugees from the hill country gave an impulse to the true colonizing spirit. The exiles were settled in different cities planted in Europe and Africa. To this era is referred the founding of Thebes in Greece, which event plays such an important part in the traditions of the Greeks. Large numbers of the refugees were settled in Northern Africa, where already existed communities of their kinsmen who had pushed on from Egypt at the time of

the Shepherd Kings. Utica, Hippo, and Carthage were the most celebrated of the cities that sprang up along the African coast. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz.

Routes of Trade.—From the mother city Tyre, and from all her important colonies and trading-posts, radiated long routes of land travel, by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus, amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po) in Italy. The tin of the British Isles was first brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on to the very heart of Central Asia.

Arts Disseminated by the Phœnicians.—We have dwelt at some length upon the maritime and land routes of the Phœnician traders, because of the light which the facts we have detailed shed upon the distribution of certain arts, and the spread of civilization, among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. We can scarcely overestimate the influence of Phœnician culture and enterprise upon the civilization of Europe. "Egypt and Assyria," says Lenormant, "were the birth-place of material civilization; the Canaanites [Phœnicians] were its missionaries." Most prominent of the arts which they introduced among all the nations with whom they traded was the art of alphabetical writing.

When the Shepherd Kings were expelled from Egypt, they carried with them twenty-two hieratic characters, which became the Phœnician alphabet. Now, all the true alphabets in use among different peoples are manifestly derived from the Phœnician. Lenormant classifies the various alphabets of the world into five great groups :* the *Semitic*, employed by the various Semitic nations of Western Asia ; the *Græco-Italic*, used by the Greeks and Romans ; the *Iberian*, employed in the Spanish Peninsula ; the *Northern*, embracing the Runic alphabets in use among the early Germanic and Scandinavian tribes ; and the *Indo-Homerite*, including various alphabets in use among nations scattered from Arabia to India.

These groups of alphabets correspond to the five great routes of maritime and land travel followed by the Phœnician traders. Wherever they went, they carried letters and the art of alphabetical writing as "one of their exports." The characters were modified by the different peoples who adopted them ; yet, among all the different groups enumerated, it is easy to detect a family likeness, and to recognize in the Phœnician alphabet the mother of them all.

It is supposed that the ancestors of the nations of Northern Europe were, at the time they first met the Phœnicians, living on the shores of the Black Sea. There they received the alphabet, and carried it with them in their westward migrations into Europe.

The introduction of letters among the different nations, vast as was the benefit which the gift conferred upon peoples just beginning to make advances in civilization, is only one of the many advantages which resulted to the early civilization of Europe from the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians. It is probable that they first introduced among the semi-civilized tribes of that continent the use of bronze, which marks an epoch in their growing culture. Articles of Phœnician workmanship

* Lenormant's "History of the East," vol. ii.

are found in the earliest tombs of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans; and in very many of the manufactures of these peoples may be traced the influence of Phœnician art.

Great Enterprises Aided by the Phœnicians.—While scattering the germs of civilization and culture broadcast over the entire Mediterranean area, the enterprising Phœnicians were also lending aid to almost every great undertaking of antiquity. King Hiram of Tyre furnished Solomon with artisans and skilled workmen, and with great rafts of timber from Lebanon, for building the splendid temple at Jerusalem. The Phœnicians also provided timber from their fine forests for the construction of the great palaces and temples of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians. They built for the Persian king Xerxes the famous Hellespontine bridges over which he marched his immense army into Greece. They furnished contingents of ships to the kings of Nineveh and Babylon for naval operations both upon the Mediterranean and the Persian and Arabian gulfs. Their fleets served as transports and convoys to the expeditions of the Persian monarchs aiming at conquest in Asia Minor or Europe. They formed, too, the naval branch of the armaments of the Pharaohs; for the Egyptians hated the sea, and never had a native fleet. And it was Phœnician sailors that, under the orders of Pharaoh-Necho, circumnavigated Africa—an undertaking which, although attendant perhaps with less advantages to the world, still is reckoned quite as remarkable, considering the remote age in which it was accomplished (604–601 B.C.), as the circumnavigation of the globe by the Portuguese navigator Magellan more than two thousand years later.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

(From early times to 330 B.C.)

Kinship of the Medes and Persians.—We have already spoken of the early home of the Aryan peoples, north of the Hindu Kush Mountains. It was in very remote times, probably before 2000 B.C., that some tribes, separating themselves from the other members of the Aryan family, crossed the southern ranges and sought new abodes on the plains of Iran. They drove out or absorbed a people of Turanian race whom they found in possession of the land. The tribes that settled in the south became known as the Persians; while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northeast were called Medes. The same in race, they had the same language, religion, and customs. So closely were they allied (although the Median character was somewhat modified by amalgamation with the native tribes) that the ancient writers always coupled the names, speaking of them as the "Medes and Persians." Thus we find their names associated in the famous legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

The Medes at first the Leading Race.—Although the Persians were destined to rise to an overshadowing pre-eminence in the double-headed state, still the Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares was their first prominent leader and king. We have already seen how, aided by the Babylonians, he overthrew the last king of Nineveh, and burned that capital, 625 B.C. Cyaxares was followed by his son Astyages, during whose reign the Persians revolted, overthrew the Median

power, and thenceforth held the place of leadership and authority.

Reign of Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.).—The leader of the revolt against the Medes was Cyrus, a Persian prince, who was a great favorite of the Median king Astyages. According to Herodotus he was the grandson of that monarch. However this may be, the young prince passed much of his time at the Median court, in the famous “seven-walled city” of Ecbatana; as it was usual among Oriental monarchs for the sons of vassal kings to be kept at the court of the suzerain, partly as hostages for the loyalty of the subject states, and partly to be trained in his interests.* While a resident there he planned a revolt which should free his country from the Median yoke. His plans were successful. The Median dynasty, as we have seen, was overthrown; but in the struggle for independence the father of Cyrus was slain. So the fortunes of battle made Cyrus, on the same day, king of the Persians and master of the Medes.

By his soldierly genius and energy, Cyrus soon built up an empire more extended than any over which the sceptre had yet been swayed by Oriental monarch. It stretched from the Indus to the farthest limits of Asia Minor. One of the kingdoms in the latter country which Cyrus overthrew was Lydia, whose monarch, Cræsus, was one of the richest of all the kings of the East, so that his name has passed into the proverb “Rich as Cræsus.” In our account of Babylon, we have already told how Cyrus captured that city, and added Babylonia as a province to his vast dominions.

While leading an expedition against some Scythian tribe—probably the Massagetæ—Cyrus received the wound that in a few days ended his life. He was buried at Pasargadæ, the old capital of the empire, and there his tomb stands to-day, sur-

* Smith's “History of the East,” p. 539.

rounded by the ruins of the magnificent buildings with which he adorned that city. The following inscription is said to have been placed, according to the wish of the great conqueror, within his tomb: "O man, whoever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest, I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire: envy me not the little earth that covers my body." *

Character of Cyrus.—Cyrus, notwithstanding his seeming love for war and conquest, possessed a kindly and generous disposition. Almost universal testimony has ascribed to him the purest and most beneficent character of any Eastern monarch. Indeed, some have exalted him to be the prototype and forerunner of Christ. Upon the capture of Babylon, he set free the Hebrews, whom the Babylonians had held in long captivity, and aided them in rebuilding Jerusalem and the Temple, which had been sacked and burned by Nebuchadnezzar. He was, more than any other Oriental king, accessible to his subjects, and by his free and open way with them won their undying affection and loyalty. They were fond of calling him "Father." He refused to treat harshly those whom the fortunes of war threw into his power; and often he forgave and readmitted to favor those that had plotted against his life and crown. Many stories are told by the ancient writers which illustrate the energy of his actions, the alertness of his mind, and the goodness of his heart.

Reign of Cambyses (529–522 B.C.).—Cyrus the Great left two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis: the former, as the oldest, inherited the sceptre and the title of king. He began a despotic and unfortunate reign by causing his brother, whose influence he feared, to be put to death. With far less ability than his father for their execution, he conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. Asia had hitherto usually afforded a

* Vaux's "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 99.

sufficient field for the ambition of Oriental despots. Cambyzes determined to add the country of Africa to the vast inheritance received from his father. Upon some slight pretext, he invaded Egypt, captured Memphis, and ascended the Nile to Thebes. From here he sent an army of 50,000 men to subdue the oasis of Ammon, in the Libyan Desert. Of the vast host not a man returned from the expedition. It is thought that the army was overwhelmed and buried by one of those fatal storms, called simooms, that so frequently sweep over those dreary wastes of sand.

Cambyzes had meanwhile sent an embassy to the Ethiopians, a people of large and powerful frame, demanding their submission; but he had received in reply a bow, with the message that when a Persian archer could bend it, then Cambyzes might think of making war against the Ethiopians. The king immediately set his army in motion, to punish their insolence; but the terrors of the Nubian Desert, rather than the valor of the foe, caused him to turn back, with the object of the expedition very unsatisfactorily accomplished.

Irritated by the ill-success of his plans, and believing that the Egyptian priests were taking advantage of his misfortunes to foment dissatisfaction among the people, he determined to strengthen his authority by destroying the power and influence of the sacerdotal order, and uprooting the ancient religion of the country. He stabbed, with his own hand, the sacred bull Apis, and caused the priests to be publicly scourged for deceiving the people—lying to them about the gods; a charge from which it would have been difficult for them to free themselves.

Cambyzes had set out on his return to Persia, when news was brought to him that his brother Smerdis had usurped the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. A Magian impostor, who resembled the murdered Smerdis, had personated him, and actually grasped the sceptre. Cambyzes, depressed in spirits by the small success attending his expedition, was entirely disheartened by this startling intelligence, and in despair took his own life.

Reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis (522-521 B.C.).—The circumstances of this reign are interesting on account of the insight they give us into the life of an Oriental monarch, and the light they throw upon religious matters. There were at this time two opposing religions in Persia: Zoroastrianism, which taught the simple worship of one God under the name of Ormazd; and Magianism, a less pure faith, whose followers were fire-worshippers. The usurpation which placed Smerdis on the throne was planned by the Magi, Smerdis himself being a fire-priest. Of course the people were kept in profound ignorance of the real character of the new king, and they believed that they had for a monarch the true son of the Great Cyrus. For seven months Smerdis succeeded in concealing the fraud from the nation at large. He took every precaution to prevent the facts from becoming known. The wives of his harem, many of whom must have known the real Smerdis, were kept apart in different chambers, and no one was allowed to see them. Smerdis himself kept close within the walls of his palace, and admitted no one to an audience that had known the murdered prince. But all was in vain. The very precautions that Smerdis took awakened suspicion, and at last the fraud was discovered. Several nobles, indignant at the deception that had been practised, forced their way to the presence of Smerdis, and the false king paid for his short-lived authority and royal honors with his life.

Reign of Darius I. (521-486 B.C.).—The leader of the nobles who rescued the sceptre from the grasp of the false Smerdis was Darius, son of Hystaspes. We are left in no doubt respecting his descent and titles, for on his tomb is this legend: "Darius, the Great King, the King of kings; the King of all inhabited countries; the King of this great earth, far and near; the son of Hystaspes, an Achæmenian; a Persian, the son of a Persian; an Aryan, of Aryan descent."

The first act of Darius was to punish, by a general massacre,

the Magian priests for the part they had taken in the usurpation by Smerdis. The pure Zoroastrian worship was re-instated ; and the temples which had been destroyed by the Magians, or fire-worshippers, were restored. All the inscriptions of Darius evince great zeal for the restored religion, and breathe a spirit of pious dependence upon Ormazd.

For several years the monarch was busy suppressing revolts in almost every province of his wide dominions. In all the ancient Oriental despotisms, disaffections and uprisings were almost always the accompaniment of dynastic changes. A sovereignty acquired by the sword must be maintained by the same means.

With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, Darius gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built a palace at Susa, and erected magnificent structures at Persepolis ; reformed the administration of the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire ;" established post-roads, and instituted a coinage for the realm ; and upon the great rock of Behistun, a lofty smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, caused to be inscribed the records of all his achievements.

And now the Great King, Lord of Western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. Inhospitable steppes on the north, and burning deserts on the south, whose shifting sands within a period yet fresh in memory had been the grave of a Persian army, seemed to be the barriers which nature herself had set for the limits of empire in these directions. But on the eastern flank of the kingdom the rich and crowded plains of India invited the conqueror with promises of endless spoils and revenues ; while on the west a new continent, full of unknown mysteries, presented virgin fields never yet traversed by the army of an Eastern despot.

Darius determined to extend the frontiers of his empire in both these directions. He first despatched, according to credible accounts, two naval expeditions of observation—one to seek information respecting the Indus country, and the other to make such investigations of the western seas and Grecian states as might be needful to his plans.

At one blow Northern India was brought under Persian authority; and thus with a single effort were the eastern limits of the empire pushed out so as to include one of the richest countries of Asia—one which henceforth returned to the Great King an annual revenue vastly larger than that of any other province hitherto acquired, not even excepting the rich district of Babylonia.

With an army of more than 700,000 men, Darius, aided by the ships of his Grecian subject allies, now crossed the Hellespont, and, passing the Danube, penetrated far into what is now Russia, which was then occupied by Scythian hordes. Adopting the same tactics employed by the Russians 2000 years later, when Napoleon led an army of nearly equal strength into the same country, the natives retreated as the Persians advanced, refusing battle, filling the wells, and destroying everything that might be of service to the enemy. After a short campaign of two months, Darius retreated from the country, effecting the movement, however, without those terrible losses and experiences which have made the later expedition the gloomiest episode of modern history.

The most significant campaign in Europe was yet to follow. In 500 B.C., the Ionian cities in Asia Minor subject to the Persian authority revolted. The Greeks of the continent very naturally lent aid to their sister states. Sardis, an important city of Lydia, held by the Persians, was sacked and burned by the insurgents. With the revolt crushed and punished with great severity, and with his power re-established to the Hellespont, Darius determined to chastise the Athenians for their insolence in giving aid to his rebellious subjects. Herodotus

tells us that he appointed a person whose sole duty it was daily to stir up the purpose of the king with the words, "Master, remember the Athenians."

A large land and naval armament was fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mount Athos, and three hundred ships were lost (492 B.C.).

Two years after this disaster, another expedition, consisting of 120,000 men, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, was borne by ships across the Ægean to the plains of Marathon. The details of the significant encounter that there took place between the Persians and the Athenians will be given when we come to narrate the history of Greece. We need now simply note the result—the complete overthrow of the Persian forces by the Greeks under Miltiades (490 B.C.).

Darius, angered beyond measure by the failure of the expedition, stirred up all the provinces of his vast empire, and called for new levies from far and near, resolved upon leading in person such an army into Greece that the insolent Athenians should be crushed at a single blow, and that the tarnished glory of the Persian arms should be quickly restored. In the midst of these preparations the king suddenly died, in the year 486 B.C.

Reign of Xerxes I. (486–465 B.C.).—The successor of Darius, his son Xerxes, though himself more inclined to indulge in the ease and luxury of the palace than to subject himself to the hardship and discipline of the camp, was urged by those about him to an active prosecution of the plans of his father.

Mustering the contingents of the different provinces of his empire, Xerxes led his vast army, numbering over 2,000,000 fighting men, besides an equal number of attendants, over the bridges he had caused to be thrown across the Hellespont, crushed the Spartan guards at the Pass of Thermopylæ, pushed

on into Attica, and laid Athens in ruins. But there fortune forsook him. At the naval battle of Salamis, his fleet was cut to pieces by the Grecian ships ; and the king, making a precipitate retreat back into Asia, hastened to his capital, Susa. Here, in the pleasures of the harem, he sought solace for his wounded pride and broken hopes.

The Bible story of Esther throws a vivid light upon the inner life of a Persian court at this time, and furnishes many an interesting passage in the closing years of the reign of Xerxes—for he is doubtless the Ahasuerus of the Hebrew writers. He at last fell a victim to palace intrigue, being slain in his own chamber 465 B.C.

The Decline of the Persian Empire.—The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. The story of the empire for the last one hundred and forty years of its existence is simply a repetition of the history of all conquering states. Power acquired by conquest, and wealth gained by robbery, are certain, in the end, to corrupt and weaken the possessor. The closing period of the Persian Empire is one long recital of shameful briberies, corruptions, court intrigues, and assassinations. As the hand that wielded the sceptre grew weaker, the more remote or powerful provinces cast off their allegiance ; and the records of the kings for this era are dreary enumerations of the wars and campaigns undertaken to punish conspiracies or crush open revolt. The rising power of the Grecian states in the West was also a constant peril and menace in that quarter.

This period of turbulence and anarchy is spanned by the reigns of Artaxerxes I., surnamed by the Greeks Longimanus, the Long-handed ; Xerxes II., who reigned only forty-five days ; Sogdianus, who held the throne less than one year ; Darius II., surnamed Ochus ; Artaxerxes II., called Mnemon for his remarkable memory, during whose reign took place the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Cyrus,

the brother of Artaxerxes, an account of which will be given in connection with Grecian history ; Artaxerxes III., or Ochus ; and Darius III., known also as Codomannus.

The Last of the Persian Kings.—That mysterious allotment of Providence by which the consequences of the follies and crimes of a long line of ancestors fall upon an innocent descendant is illustrated anew in the sad story of Darius III., the last of the Persian kings. He was comely in person, generous in disposition, and free from most of those faults which rendered infamous the reigns of his predecessors. Yet it was his misfortune to live to see the weakened empire fall to pieces in his hands, and himself a hunted fugitive in the obscurest province of his dominions.

The revelations of the preceding reigns invited the Macedonians to the invasion and conquest of the empire. Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea had shown the immense superiority of the free soldiery of Greece over the splendid but servile armies of Persia, that were often driven to battle with the lash. The march of the Ten Thousand through the very heart of the dominions of the Great King had demonstrated the amazing internal weakness of the empire. The condition of the Persian monarchy at this time was very like that of the Roman Empire just before its fall. A single blow will suffice to shatter the splendid fabric into ruins.

Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, was the destined destroyer. In the year 334 B.C., that conqueror led a small army of 35,000 Greeks across the Hellespont. The three great battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela decided the fate of the Persian Empire. Darius fled from the last field, on the plains of Assyria, only to be treacherously assassinated by one of his own generals, Bessus, satrap of Bactria. When Alexander, who was pushing on in close pursuit, came upon the body of the murdered king, which lay by the wayside, he burst into tears, and covered the remains with his own mantle. "With this

pathetic scene closes the story of the Persian Empire (B.C. 330)."

The succeeding movements of Alexander, and the establishment by him of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian state, are matters that properly belong to Grecian history, and will be narrated in a following chapter.

TABLE OF KINGS OF MEDIA AND PERSIA.

		B.C.
Kings of Media...	{ Phraortes.....	? -633
	{ Cyaxares.....	633-593
	{ Astyages.....	593-558
Kings of Persia...	{ Cyrus.....	558-529
	{ Cambyses	529-522
	{ Pseudo-Smerdis.....	522-521
	{ Darius I.....	521-486
	{ Xerxes I.....	486-465
	{ Artaxerxes I.....	465-425
	{ Xerxes II.....	425
	{ Sogdianus.....	425-424
	{ Darius II.....	424-405
	{ Artaxerxes II.....	405-359
	{ Artaxerxes III.....	359-338
	{ Arses.....	338-336
	{ Darius III.....	336-330

CHAPTER XI.

INSTITUTIONS, RELIGION, AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANCIENT
PERSIANS.

The Persian Government.—Before the reign of Darius I., the government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the great monarchies that had preceded it ; that is, it consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, only paying tribute and homage, and furnishing contingents in time of war, to the Great King.

We have seen how weak was this rude and primitive type of government. Darius conceived an entirely new and far better form—one which the Romans reproduced, if they did not imitate it. This system of Darius is known as the *satrapal*. The entire kingdom was divided into about twenty provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign, and were thus rendered his subservient creatures. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue. After raising this, the governor was at liberty to collect as much more as he needed to sustain such a court and retinue as his tastes might dictate. These being often capricious and extravagant, the taxes were usually exorbitant and oppressive ; but so long as the annual stipend was received at the capital, no inquiries were likely to be made. The measures of these satraps were often cruel and despotic: they held the power of life and death; and justice with them was too frequently a thing of price and purchase.

There were provisions in the system by which the king might

be apprized of the loyalty of his satraps, and thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together ; and the facility with which almost sovereign states—which was the real character of the different parts of the empire under the old system—could plan and execute revolt was removed.

Literature and Religion: Zoroastrianism.—The literature of the ancient Persians was entirely religious. Their sacred book is called the Zendavesta. It is composed of eight parts, the oldest of which is named the Vendidad. This consists of hymns and invocations believed to have been composed before 2000 B.C. The religious system of the Persians, as taught in the Zendavesta, is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its founder. This great reformer and teacher is now supposed by many scholars to have lived and taught about two thousand years before our era, and thus to have been a contemporary of Abraham.

Zoroastrianism seems to have been a revolt against polytheistic tendencies in the old Aryan religion. Zoroaster labored to lead his people back to the simple faith of their ancestors. He taught belief in a Supreme Being, called Ahura Mazda, or Ormazd ; and his precepts inculcated virtue and purity. His teachings produced a religious schism among the hitherto united Indo-Iranian peoples, and led to their final separation, and to the establishment of the antagonistic systems of Brahminism in Hindustan and Zoroastrianism in Persia.

Dualism in the Persian Religion.—The system of Zoroaster was much modified by the nature of the region that became the home of the Iranian peoples, and also by the sensuous worship of the Turanian and Hamitic tribes with which they came in contact.

Persia is a country of sharp contrasts : winters of bitter cold are followed closely by springs of surpassing freshness and beauty, and these are quickly succeeded by hot, withering sum-

mers. Frightful deserts alternate with fertile and lovely valleys. Good and evil powers seemed thus, to the observant minds of those early peoples, to be waging an ever-renewed conflict in the world around them. Within themselves, also, health and disease, vice and virtue, evil and good, seemed ever contending, each for the mastery. Hence arose the system of belief known as dualism, the germs of which are traceable in the earliest Aryan hymns. They imagined that over against the good Ormazd there was a "dark spirit," Ahriman, who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ormazd by creating all evil powers—storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage; but in the near future Ormazd would triumph over Ahriman and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ormazd by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice in his own bosom; to reclaim the earth from barrenness; and to kill all bad animals—frogs, toads, snakes, lizards—which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the Magian priests armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime." Agriculture was a sacred calling, for the husbandman was reclaiming the ground from the curse of the Dark Spirit. Thus men might become co-workers with Ormazd in the mighty work of overthrowing and destroying the kingdom of the wicked Ahriman.

The evil man was he who allowed vice and degrading passions to find a place in his own soul, and neglected to exterminate noxious animals and weeds, and help redeem the earth from the barrenness and sterility created by the enemy of Ormazd.

After death the souls of the good and bad alike must pass along a narrow bridge: the good soul passes in safety, and is

admitted to the presence of Ahura Mazda ; while the evil soul is sure to fall from the sharp path into a pit of woe, the dwelling-place of Ahriman.

Zoroastrianism Influenced by Magianism.—Zoroastrianism was also deeply influenced by the religion of the ancient people with which the Aryans blended, especially in the Median provinces. There, among the mountains of the Zagros region, flourished a sort of sensuous nature-worship, called Magianism, in which the elements—fire, earth, air, and water—were esteemed sacred and were made objects of worship. Fire was regarded with special veneration, as the purest symbol of the Supreme Being. This religion was really but a modified form of the Sabæism of the early Chaldæans. The lofty summits of the mountains were crowned with altars, upon which burned continually the Magian fires. These were kept burning from generation to generation. The system possessed a venerable priesthood and a ceremonial of worship that appealed to the grosser senses.

Zoroastrianism, too refined and spiritual to maintain its hold upon a semi-barbarous people, naturally became corrupted by the sensuous worship of the Magians. The two religions blended ; yet the faith of the conquering Aryans ever retained the most prominent place in the new worship. The form was Magian, but its spirit was Zoroastrian. It never became a really idolatrous worship, and was, in all its stages, the purest and most spiritual religion held by any people of antiquity, save that professed by the ancient Hebrews.

Between the Persians and the Hebrews, indeed, there existed a bond of sympathy in their religious faith. Cyrus restored the captive Jews to Jerusalem and aided them in the restoration of their Temple, in which, as in the case of the Persian sanctuary, appeared no statue of the object of worship. Xerxes thought it a pious act to burn the temples of the Greeks, and Cambyses himself stabbed the bull Apis, and scourged the Egyptian priests for teaching the people to believe that it was

a god. These acts were prompted by that same hatred of idolatry, and zeal for the spiritual worship of the Eternal Unseen, that led the Israelites to overturn the altars, cut down the groves, and slay the priests of the idolatrous Canaanites.

Persian Architecture.—Although the ancient Persians did nothing in science and philosophy, still in architecture they originated an order superior to any that the nations which preceded them had produced. But notwithstanding that Persian structural art was home-born, it was greatly influenced and modified by both that of Assyria and of Egypt.

The simple religious faith of the Persians discouraged (though it did not prohibit) the erection of temples: their sacred architecture scarcely included more than an altar and its pedestal. The palace of the monarch was the structure that absorbed the best efforts of the Persian artist.

The first step in royal architecture was taken by the Medes, who, living in a mountainous and woody country, built wooden structures for their palaces. In such edifices, the column, formed of a tree-trunk, was naturally a prominent feature. When the Persians gained supremacy in the state, they borrowed the architecture of the Medes; but, living in a country where wood was scarce and stone abundant, they reproduced the wooden residences of the Median kings in the latter material.

In imitation of the inhabitants of the Valley of the Euphrates, they raised the royal residence on a lofty terrace, or platform. Here again they transformed the mud-built palace-mound of the Assyrians into stone, and at Persepolis raised, for the substruction of their palaces, an immense platform of massive masonry, which is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders. This terrace, which is uninjured by the 2300 years that have passed since its erection, is about 1500 feet long, 1000 feet wide, and 40 feet high. The summit is reached by broad stairways of stone, pronounced

by Niebuhr and Fergusson the finest work of the kind that the ancient or even the modern world can boast.

Remains of the Persian Palaces.—Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the palaces of several of the Persian monarchs, from Cyrus the Great to Artaxerxes Ochus. The ruins consist chiefly of walls and massive doors and windows, each cut from a single stone. The whole mass of building is supposed to have been burned by Alexander during a drunken frolic. Thirteen lofty columns, sixty feet in height, mark the site of the Hall of Xerxes—the audience chamber, or throne-room, of the Great King, beneath which he sat to hear and judge the matters of his subjects. Colossal winged bulls, copied from the Assyrians, stand as wardens at the gateway of the ruined palaces.

Numerous sculptures in bass-relief decorate the faces of the walls, and these throw much light upon the manners and customs of the ancient Persian kings. The successive palaces increase, not only in size, but in sumptuousness of adornment, thus registering those changes which we have been tracing in the national history. The residence of Cyrus was small and modest, while that of Artaxerxes Ochus equalled in size the famous palace of the Assyrian Sargon. Again, the sculptures that adorn the residences of the earlier kings, Cyrus and Darius, represent the monarch engaged in bold and manly combat with lions and other monsters; while in the halls and chambers of the palaces of Xerxes these give place to representations of servants bearing articles of luxury intended for royal use. “A tone of mere sensual enjoyment is thus given to the later edifice which is far from characterizing the earlier; and the decline at the court, which history indicates as rapid about this period, is seen to have stamped itself, as such changes usually do, upon the national architecture.” *

* Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 295.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HEROIC OR LEGENDARY AGE OF GREECE.

(From earliest times to about 1100 B.C.)

Divisions of Greece.—Long arms of the sea divide the Grecian peninsula into three parts, which we may call Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now known as the Morea, was called by the ancients Peloponnesus, from Pelops, its fabled colonizer.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful valley, walled in on all sides by rugged mountains. It was celebrated far and wide for the variety and beauty of its scenery. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, lay a beautiful glen, called the Vale of Tempe, the only pass by which the plain of Thessaly could be entered from the north. The district of Epirus stretched along the Ionian Sea on the west. In the gloomy recesses of its forests of oak was located the famous Dodonean oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, or states. The most important of these were Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica was the brilliant Athens.

Southern Greece, or Peloponnesus, was also divided among eleven states, of which the more important were Arcadia, embracing the central part of the peninsula; Achaia, the northern part; Argolis, the eastern; and Messenia and Laconia, the southern. The last, called also Lacedæmon, was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Mountains.—The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece, shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races from the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece. In Northern Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The ancient Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (it is 9700 feet in height), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the celestials. South of Olympus are Ossa and Pelion, famous in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon another, in order to scale Olympus. Parnassus, in Central Greece, a beautiful mountain clad with trees and vines, and filled with fountains, was the favorite abode of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, famous for its marbles. Peloponnesus was rugged with mountains that radiated in all directions from the central country of Arcadia, which is often spoken of as the Switzerland of Greece.

Islands about Greece.—Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle about the sacred isle of Delos, where was a famous temple of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean. Just off the coast of Attica is the large island called by the ancients Eubœa, but known to us as Negropont. Close to the Asian shore are the three large islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes. Chios was widely known as being the home of the alleged descendants of Homer, called the Homerides. Rhodes became celebrated through its schools of oratory and sculpture. To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra, now Corfu. The rugged

island of Ithaca was the birthplace of Ulysses, the hero of the "Odyssey." Cythera, just south of Peloponnesus, was sacred to Venus, or Aphrodite, as it was here fable said she rose from the sea-foam. Beyond Cythera, in the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, famous for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos.

Other Lands Peopled by the Greeks.—Under the name of Hellas the ancient Greeks included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, in Southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Grecian colonies scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Euxine. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." During the later periods of Greek dominance, many magnificent cities, filled with Greek citizens, and characterized by Hellenic manners, language, and religion, were sprinkled thickly over the different provinces of Asia as far as the Indus.

Influence of Country.—The nature and position of a country, as we have already seen illustrated in the case of Phœnicia, have much to do with the moulding of the character and the shaping of the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities and shutting out conquering races, foster the spirit of independence and preserve freedom; the sea, inviting abroad, and rendering easy intercourse with distant countries, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now, Greece is at once a mountainous and maritime country. Abrupt mountain-walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, each of which in ancient times became the abode of a distinct community or state. Hence the fragmentary character of its political history. The Hellenic states never coalesced to form a single nation.

The peninsula was, moreover, by reason of deep arms and

bays of the sea, converted into what was in effect an archipelago. Hence its people were early tempted to a seafaring life. The shores of the Mediterranean and the Euxine were dotted with Hellenic colonies. Intercourse with the old civilizations of Egypt and Phœnicia stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the *Ægean* Sea were "stepping-stones" which invited the earliest settlers of Greece to the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

Again, the beauty of Grecian scenery inspired many of the most striking passages of her poets; and it is thought that the exhilarating atmosphere and brilliant skies of Attica were not unrelated to the lofty achievements of the Athenian intellect.

The Pelasgians.—The primitive inhabitants of Greece were called Pelasgians. They belonged to the great Indo-European family of nations, and were the Aryan pioneers in Greece and Italy, just as the Celts were the original Aryan intruders in Northwestern Europe. Whether, like the latter, the Pelasgians found a non-Aryan race in possession of the soil, we can only conjecture. In Italy this seems to have been the case, and the Etrurians are by some thought to be the remnant of such a primitive people. If they encountered such a race in Greece, they so thoroughly exterminated it that no trace of its existence can be found. The Pelasgians, when they entered the peninsula—probably as early as 2000 B.C.—had already advanced beyond the savage state. They cultivated the soil, protected their cities with walls, and possessed laws and government.

Foreign Influence.—The Pelasgians were a people capable of improvement, and appear during the first centuries of the period we are considering to have gradually developed in all that pertains to civilization. This growth and culture were

aided from without. The traditions of the Greeks tell of the coming to their country of settlers from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Phrygia. From Egypt came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts and learning and priestly wisdom of the Nile Valley. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes. The Phrygian Pelops settled in the southern peninsula, which was called after him Peloponnesus. It is possible that the only historical basis for some of these traditions is simply the advantage derived by the Greeks from their commercial intercourse with the different nations of the Western Mediterranean.

The Hellenes.—But it is not alone these foreign influences which account for the rapid progress made by the Pelasgians—a progress which in a few centuries carried them in some directions to a point barely yet attained by modern nations. Dwelling in Epirus was a community called Hellenes, a people of the same race and language as the Pelasgians, but whom circumstances had moulded into a somewhat different life. They possessed more of the martial spirit, and were more cultured than the kindred communities about them. The nation was divided into four great branches; namely, the Æolians, the Achæans, the Ionians, and the Dorians.

Pushed forward probably by the pressure of tribes on the north, these Hellenes passed from Epirus into Thessaly, and thence into the regions to the south, pressing on until by conquest or peaceful settlement they had insinuated themselves among all, or nearly all, the Pelasgian communities of the peninsula. Now took place just what happened when the Romans, at a later date, conquered and Romanized Italy, and so much of the Mediterranean world. The Pelasgians were completely Hellenized. The country is henceforth known as the land of Hellas. The two peoples so blend that their influence henceforth flows out in an inseparable stream over the surrounding regions.

The Heroic Age (about 1400–1184 B.C.).—The two centuries and more which followed the intermingling of the Hellenes and Pelasgians cover that portion of the Legendary period of Grecian history which is properly designated as the Heroic Age. The period closes with the return of the Grecian chieftains from the siege of Troy. To this age belong the legends of the national heroes—Hercules, Theseus, Perseus, and many others—and the traditions of the Argonautic Expedition and of the Trojan War.

The Heroes.—These were in some cases, perhaps, historical characters, but so much of myth and fable has gathered about them that it is impossible to separate that which is really historic from that which is purely fabulous. Thus they are represented as performing various labors, utterly absurd and impossible if we suppose them to have been done by a single man. But in some cases at least we may believe that the work was actually performed, only by a community or people, and then afterwards, when the manner in which it was done was forgotten, though traces of the work remained, it was attributed to these national heroes; just as we have seen in Babylonia every great work attributed to Nimrod.

The Argonautic Expedition.—The tale of this enterprise is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, set sail in a “fifty-oared galley,” called the *Argo*, in search of a “golden fleece,” which was fabled to be nailed to a tree in the Grove of Mars, on the western shores of the Euxine, an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition is successful, and, after many wonderful adventures, returns in triumph with the sacred relic.

Different meanings have been given to the legend. The Colchians were said to collect, by fleeces laid in the water, the particles of gold swept down by the swift streams of their

mountains. The legend then would be the poetical way of telling of an early commerce between Greece and these gold-bearing regions of the Euxine.

In whatever way we interpret the stories, doubtless we may find in them a little historical matter, at least as much as this—that the Greeks, in that very early age, undertook, either for purposes of commerce or adventure, expeditions of considerable length into the adjoining seas.

The Trojan War (1194–1184 B.C.?).—The Trojan war was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination. Homer, in his great epic of the “*Iliad*,” and a host of succeeding writers called the cyclic poets, rehearsed, with a charm of language and beauty of imagery never surpassed, the feats of the struggling heroes, Greek and Trojan, beneath the walls of Ilios.

Ilios, or Troy, was the capital of a strong empire, Grecian in race and language, which had grown up in Asia Minor along the shores of the Hellespont. The traditions tell us how Paris, son of Priam, King of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty. All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of one hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus and “king of men,” was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the “lion-hearted Achilles,” the “magnanimous Ulysses,” Ajax and Diomed—the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans from Greece across the Ægean to the Trojan shores.

For ten years the Grecians hold in close siege the city of Priam. On the plains beneath the walls of the capital, the warriors of the two armies fight in general battle or contend in single encounter. In one of these latter, Hector, son of Priam, is slain by Achilles; and his body, fastened to the chariot

wheels of the victor, is dragged thrice about the walls of Troy. The city is at last taken through a device of the "crafty Ulysses." Upon the plain in sight of the walls is built a wooden statue of a horse, in the body of which are hidden several Grecian warriors. Then the Greeks retire to their ships, as though about to abandon the siege. The Trojans issue from their gates and gather in wondering crowds about the image. They believe it to be an offering sacred to Minerva, and so dare not destroy it; but, on the other hand, they level a place in the walls of their city, and drag the statue within. At night the concealed warriors issue from the horse, open the gates of the city to the Grecians, and Troy is sacked and burned to the ground. The aged Priam is slain, after having seen his sons and many of his warriors perish before his face. Æneas, with his aged father Anchises and a few devoted followers, escapes, and, after long wanderings by land and by sea, becomes the fabled founder of the Roman race in Italy.

It is a matter of difficulty to separate the purely historical from the poetical elements in this tradition. But the interesting discoveries of Schliemann upon the site of ancient Troy show that the poets followed actual occurrences more closely than an over-sceptical historical criticism was once willing to allow. Of course, much or most is poetical embellishment. But this much remains: that, either through rivalry or enmity, the different nations of Greece entered into a war against their kinsmen on the opposite shore of the Ægean, which contest ended disastrously to the Trojan city and kingdom. That the struggle caused many Trojans to become fugitives and wanderers, who settled as colonists in distant regions, is also probable.

Return of the Grecian Chieftains.—After the fall of Troy, the Grecian chieftains and princes returned to Hellas. The poets represent the gods as withdrawing, for some reason, their protection from the hitherto favored heroes. So, many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's

"Odyssey" portrays the sufferings of Ulysses, King of Ithaca, impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

From the many traditions of this nature, we are led to infer that in some instances the return of the warriors was not unattended by adventure. In some cases advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. At Argos, Ægisthus had won the unholy love of Clytæmnestra, wife and queen of Agamemnon, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple. In pleasing contrast with this we have exhibited to us the constancy of Penelope, although sought by many suitors during the absence of her husband Ulysses.

Still, though there was good ground, doubtless, for many of these tales, it appears that the greater number of the heroes came back to their homes in Greece, and enjoyed in peace the honors of their glorious achievements. For nearly two generations there appears to have been throughout Hellas such a period of expansion and prosperity as often follows a successful war.

One result of the Trojan enterprise was the opening of new and inviting regions for settlement to the colonists that, soon after the fall of Troy, we find emigrating from the mother-land and seeking new abodes.

Hellenic Migrations and Settlements.—Scarcely half a century had passed after the Trojan War before the tribes of Greece, owing to pressure of intruders on the north, were thrown into great commotion. These movements, which uprooted large masses of population, and the love of enterprise and adventure inherent in the Greek disposition, caused the peoples of the mother-land to pour themselves over the adjoining islands and coasts, till Hellas embraced many of the most delightful districts of the Mediterranean area.

In the Trojan regions of Asia Minor settled the Æolians,

who crossed the *Ægean* from *Bœotia* about 1124 B.C. The coast to the south of them was colonized about 1040 B.C. by Ionian emigrants from the neighborhood of the Corinthian Gulf, whose splendid cities finally grew into the celebrated Ionian Confederacy. Still south of these were the Dorians, who crossed from the Peloponnesus, of which they had taken possession soon after the Trojan War. They also settled the important islands of Crete and Rhodes.

At a later period—about the seventh century B.C.—the tide of emigration flowed to the west. Southern Italy was so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia*, “Great Greece.” Here were founded the important cities of Tarentum and Cumæ, the latter famed throughout both the Grecian and the Roman world on account of its oracle and sibyl. Syracuse, on the island of Sicily, Massilia (now Marseilles), in France, and Cyrene, on the coast of Africa, were large and flourishing Greek cities, radiating points of long routes of travel and trade.

Many of these cities reflected honor on the mother-land through the just renown of their citizens. Indeed, very many of the greatest poets, philosophers, and scholars of the Hellenic race were natives of the Asiatic or European colonial cities. The mother-land owed much also to the healthy and stimulating reaction of her colonies upon herself. We may think of Greece as holding the same place in the ancient Mediterranean world that England as a colonizer occupies in the world of to-day. As the latter is in danger of being eclipsed by her daughters growing up about her, so the light of the mother-land in ancient Hellas was at times dimmed by the glory of her colonies.

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY HISTORY OF SPARTA.

THE civil or political history of Hellas for the five centuries preceding the great struggle between Persia and Greece is mainly the story of the two rival cities of Sparta and Athens. Yet we must not lose sight of the fact that during this period other states of Hellas, as Thebes and Corinth, and many cities in Asia Minor, were growing into political power and importance; and that these helped at last to make up the resources of the Grecian world when she offered defiance to the Great King, and brought the East and the West to that memorable trial of strength known as the Persian War. In the present chapter we shall give some account of the beginnings of the Spartan state.

Classes in the Spartan State.—In order to understand the institutions of the Spartans, we must first notice the three classes—Spartans, Provincials, and Helots—into which the population of Laconia, or Lacedæmon, was divided. The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were Dorian in race and language. They composed but a small fraction of the entire population, and for greater safety all gathered at Sparta, from which they expelled the native inhabitants. Their relations to the conquered people were those of an army of occupation. Sparta, the capital, was simply a vast camp, unprotected by any walls until later and degenerate times. The martial valor of its citizens was thought its only proper defence. The Provincials, who constituted the second class, were the subjugated Achæans, mingled

doubtless with their Dorian conquerors. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute, and, in times of war, to fight for the glory and interest of their Spartan masters. The third and lowest class was composed of slaves, or serfs, called Helots. They literally had no rights which their Spartan lords felt bound to respect. If a Helot showed unusual powers of body or mind, he was secretly assassinated; as it was deemed unsafe to allow such qualities to be fostered in this servile class. It is affirmed that when the Helots grew too numerous for safety, their numbers were thinned by a deliberate massacre of the surplus population.

The Lycurgean Institutions.—The laws and customs of the Spartans have excited more interest, perhaps, than any similar institutions of the ancient world. A mystery and halo were thrown about them by attributing them to the creative genius of a single lawgiver, Lycurgus. But it is a proverb that constitutions grow, and are not made. Circumstances were the real creators of those strange institutions—the circumstances which surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population. Nor were they the creation of an hour—the fruit of a happy inspiration. All the events of the early conquest, all the toils and dangers and hardships which the Dorian warriors endured in the subjugation of the land, and all the prudence and watchfulness necessary to the maintaining of themselves in the position of conquerors, helped to determine the unusual and harsh character of the laws and regulations of the Spartan state.

The work of Lycurgus, then, was not that of a new creation. Back of him lay a long period of growth and development. His labor was that of a wise and far-seeing statesman, whose work it is to modify and shape already existing "habits and customs into rule and law;" to make additions and improvements; to anticipate growing tastes and tendencies. The very fact that the legislation of Lycurgus was adopted and became

the system of a state shows that it must have been simply the outgrowth of customs and regulations already familiar and consequently acceptable to a large party at least among the Spartans.

Lycurgus.—Lycurgus lived and did his work about the ninth century B.C. Many of the best years of his life were spent in exile. He acquainted himself with the laws and institutions of different lands by converse with their priests and sages. He is said to have studied with great zeal, under a poet-teacher, the laws of Minos, the famous lawgiver of the Cretans. Like the great legislator Moses, he became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Legend tells, too, how he journeyed as far as India and became a disciple of the Brahmins.

The prime of life was almost passed when he returned to his native Sparta. So great was his reputation for learning and wisdom that he soon became the leader of a strong party. After much opposition, his laws and regulations were adopted by the Spartan people. Then, binding his countrymen by a solemn oath that they would carefully observe his laws during his absence, he set out on a pilgrimage to Delphi. In response to his inquiry, the oracle assured him that Sparta would endure and prosper as long as the people obeyed the laws he had given them. Lycurgus caused this answer to be carried to his countrymen; and then, that they might remain bound by the oath they had taken, he resolved never to return. He went into an unknown exile. Three lands claim to hold his dust; and the Spartans in after-years perpetuated his memory and their own gratitude by temples and sacrifices in his honor.

The Spartan Senate.—The constitution of Lycurgus provided for a Senate, or Council, of twenty-eight elders. The two co-ordinate kings were also members, thus raising the number to thirty. This body existed long before the time of Ly-

curgus. He probably simply modified or added to its powers and duties. No one could become a member of this body until he had reached the age of sixty. The manner of election to the Senate was peculiar. The committee who were to decide between the candidates were confined in a chamber near the public assembling-place, where, without seeing what was going on, they might hear the clamor of the people. Then the candidates were presented to the meeting, one by one, and the partisans of each greeted their favorite with great and prolonged applause. It was the duty of the committee to decide which candidate had been received with the greatest enthusiasm and clamor, and he was declared the people's choice. The proceedings in our own political conventions are not very dissimilar to this usage of the Spartan assembly.

The powers of the Senate were at first almost unlimited, extending to matters of life and death. After a time there was established the office of Ephor, which corresponded to the tribunate among the Romans. The ephors gradually absorbed the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as the authority of the two associate kings.

Regulations as to Lands and Money.—At the time of Lycurgus the lands of Laconia had become absorbed by the rich, leaving the masses in poverty and distress. It is certain that the lawgiver did much to remedy this ruinous state of affairs. The lands were redistributed, an equal portion being assigned to each Spartan citizen, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each Provincial. The Spartans were forbidden to engage in trade; all their time must be passed in the chase or in martial exercise in the palæstra. Iron was made the sole money of the state, in order that luxuries might not be introduced. Foreign traders refused and ridiculed this iron money. It is said that the price of many common articles in this Spartan coin made a load for a stout yoke of oxen.

The Public Tables.—The most peculiar, perhaps, of the Lycurgean institutions were the public meals. In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus ordered that all the Spartan citizens should eat at public and common tables. Each person was required to contribute to these a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices. None, not even the kings, were excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from a long expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

A luxury-loving Athenian, once visiting Sparta and seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle. "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

Education of the Youth.—Children were considered as belonging to the State. Every infant was brought before the Council of Elders; and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, it was exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers. The aim of the entire course, as to the boys, was to make a nation of soldiers who should despise toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor. The mind was cultivated only so far as might contribute to the main object of the system. Reading and writing were untaught, and the art of rhetoric was despised. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb. Boys were taught to respond in the fewest words possible. At the public tables they were not permitted to speak until questioned: they sat "silent as statues." An old writer quaintly says, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and their language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words."

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In leaping, wrestling, and in hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. He was inured to the cold of winter by being forced to pass through that season with only the light dress of summer. His bed was a bundle of river reeds. Sometimes he was placed before the altar of Artemis, and scourged just for the purpose of accustoming his body to pain. Frequently, it is said, boys died under the lash, without betraying their suffering by look or moan.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If detected, they were severely punished for having been so unskilful as not to get safely away with their booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of the Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals, without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle. Still another usage, known as the *Cryptia*, allowed the young Spartan, at certain times, to hunt and kill the Helots, simply as practice to render him ready and expert in war.

Estimate of the Lycurgean Institutions.—That the laws and regulations of the Lycurgean constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view—the rearing of a nation of skilful and resolute warriors—the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests. But when we consider the aim and object of the Spartan institutions, we must pronounce them low and unworthy. The true order of things was just reversed among the Lacedæmonians. Government exists for the individual: at Sparta the individual lived for the state. The body is intended to be the instrument of

the mind : the Spartans reversed this, and attended to the education of the mind only so far as its development enhanced the effectiveness of the body as a weapon in warfare.

Spartan history teaches how easy it is for a nation, like an individual, to misdirect its energies—to subordinate the higher to the lower. It illustrates, too, the fact that only those nations that labor to develop that which is best and highest in man make helpful contributions to the progress of the world. Sparta, in significant contrast to Athens, bequeathed nothing to posterity.

The Messenian Wars.—The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian War was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian wars (743–668 B.C.). Some private wrongs and reprisals along the frontiers of the neighboring states caused the two nations to fly to arms. The Spartan warriors bound themselves by a solemn oath never to return home till the Messenians were crushed. The contest, marked by many acts of atrocious cruelty, went on with varying fortunes for two generations.

It is told that the Spartans, falling into despair, sent to Delphi for advice. The oracle directed them to ask Athens for a counsellor. The Athenians did not wish to aid the Lacedæmonians, yet dared not oppose the oracle. So they sent Tyr-tæus, a poet-teacher, whom they hoped and thought would prove of but little use to Sparta as an adviser. Whatever truth there may be in this part of the story, it is indisputable that, during the Second Messenian War, Tyr-tæus, a poet from Attica, aroused the drooping spirits of the Spartans by the fire of his martial strains. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that Sparta owed her final victory to the inspiring songs of the martial poet.

The conquered Messenians were reduced to serfdom, and their condition was made as degrading and bitter as that of

the Helots of Laconia. Some, choosing exile, pushed out into the Western Sea, and, settling in Sicily, gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messina.

Power of Sparta.—Sparta was now the most powerful state of Peloponnesus. “She rewarded her friends, humbled her rivals, and punished her enemies.” Crœsus, King of Lydia, sought an alliance with her in an approaching war with Persia, whose shadow was already falling upon the Hellenic states of Asia Minor.

We now turn to narrate the history of republican Athens from the earliest times to the period where we drop the story of her rival Sparta.



CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS.

Founding of Athens.—According to tradition, Athens was founded by the Egyptian Cecrops, 1550 B.C., and called after him Cecropia. Later it took the name Athenæ, in honor of its protecting goddess, Minerva (Athēnē). A flat-topped rock, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises with abrupt cliffs, one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plain of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence, afterwards called the Acropolis and covered with splendid temples, doubtless led to its selection as the site of the early city. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginnings of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

The Kings of Athens.—Upon long periods of Athens's early history there rest almost absolute silence and obscurity. It is certain, however, that during the Heroic Age it was ruled by kings, like all other Grecian states. The names of Theseus and Codrus are the most noted of the regal line. Of Codrus it is told that, when the Lacedæmonians invaded Attica, and he learned that an oracle had assured them of success if they spared the life of the Athenian king, he disguised himself, and, with a single companion, made an unprovoked attack upon some Spartan soldiers, who instantly slew him. Discovering that the King of Athens had fallen by a Lacedæmonian sword, the Spartans despaired of taking the city, and withdrew from the country.

The Archons (1050-620 B.C.?).—Codrus was the last king of Athens. His successor, elected by the nobles, was given simply the name of Archon, or Ruler, as it was thought that no one was worthy of bearing the title of the divine Codrus. In later history occurs another illustration of the influence of this same sentiment, when the Christian Crusader Godfrey refused to be called King of Jerusalem, because he thought himself unworthy to wear the crown where his Master and King had suffered and died.

At first there was but one Archon, elected for life ; but after about three hundred years the number was increased to nine. The government during all this time was in the hands of the nobles, the people having no part in the management of public affairs. There existed throughout the early history of Athens the same antagonism between these two orders that we shall hereafter find at Rome in the relations of the patricians and the plebeians.

The people at length demanded additional rights and privileges, a voice in the government, and protection from the exactions and cruelties of the wealthy.

The Laws of Draco.—To meet these demands, the nobles appointed one of their own number, Draco, to prepare a code of laws. He reduced existing customs and regulations to a definite and written constitution, assigning to the smallest offence the penalty of death. This cruel severity of the Draconian laws caused Demades to say of them that "they were written, not in ink, but in blood." In part, at least, this famous legislation was a reflection of the harshness of those early times. Some think, however, that they were made thus severe, in order to overawe and punish the people for having dared demand them of the nobles. Draco himself is said to have thought that all violation of law is sin against the gods, and that "the least offences deserve death, and that he could devise no greater punishment for the worst."

The Rebellion of Cylon (620 B.C.).—Soon after the enactment of Draco's laws, which naturally served only to increase the discontent of the people, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, taking advantage of the state of affairs, attempted to overthrow the government. He seized the citadel of the Acropolis, where he was closely besieged. Upon the rock stood a Temple of Minerva. Finally, hard pressed, the companions of Cylon—he himself had escaped through the lines of his enemies—sought refuge within the shrine. The nobles, fearing lest the death of the rebels by starvation within the sacred enclosure should pollute the sanctuary, offered to spare their lives on condition of surrender. Fearing to trust themselves among their enemies without some protection, they fastened a string to the statue of Minerva, and, holding fast to this, descended from the citadel into the streets of Athens. As they came in front of the altars of the Furies, the line broke; and the Archons, professing to believe that this mischance indicated that the goddess refused to shield them longer, caused them to be set upon and massacred.

It illustrates the superstition, or, as we should rather say, the deep religious feelings of those times, to note the effects of this act upon the course of following events. The friends of Cylon easily persuaded the people that the fierce anger of the avenging Furies had been incurred by the slaughter of prisoners in violation of a sacred oath and before their very altars. Calamities that now befell the State confirmed the belief. Thus the people were inflamed still more against the government of the aristocracy. Thirlwall says that "Cylon's conspiracy and its issue exercised an influence on the history of Athens which has rendered it forever memorable as the event which led to the legislation of Solon."

The Laws of Solon.—Solon, like the famous lawgiver of Sparta, prepared himself for giving laws to his countrymen by long and studious travel in foreign lands. Having the confidence of both parties, he was unanimously chosen to draw up

a new code of laws. He repealed many of the cruel laws of Draco ; permitted the return of those driven into exile ; gave wise relief to the debtor class, ordering those held in slavery for debt to be set free ; and caused the white stone posts, which indicated the fields were mortgaged, to be cleared from the lands. These measures caused contentment and prosperity to take the place, everywhere throughout Attica, of discontent and wretchedness.

Changes in the Athenian Constitution.—The changes in the political constitution were equally wise and beneficent. Property, instead of birth, was made the basis of the new legislation. This completely changed the character of the government : it was no longer an exclusive oligarchy. The offices and emoluments of the State might now be attained by industry and energy. The Council of the Four Hundred, if not created, was at least greatly modified, by Solon. Its chief duty was to decide what matters might be discussed by the public assembly, and to execute the resolutions of that body.

The Tribunal of the Areopagus.—Solon also enlarged the jurisdiction of the celebrated Tribunal of the Areopagus, a venerable council that from times out of memory had been held on Mars's Hill, near the Acropolis. Solon ordained that no one should be a member of it who had not held the office of Archon. The judges sat beneath the open sky, that they might not be contaminated, it is said, by the breath of the criminals brought before them. To this court was committed the care of morals and religion. It was this council that condemned Socrates to death ; and it was in the presence of this same venerable tribunal that, six hundred years afterwards, Paul stood when he made his famous defence of Christianity.

The Public Assembly.—The public assembly, under the constitution of Solon, was made the most important of all the in-

stitutions of the State. It was the fountain of all power. It appointed the Archons and elected the members of the Senate of Four Hundred. Contrary to the rule in Sparta, any citizen had the right not only of voting but of speaking on any question which the assembly had a right to discuss. Six thousand citizens were required to constitute a quorum, to transact business in cases of special importance. This popular assembly grew into vast importance in later times. By it were discussed and decided questions affecting the entire Hellenic world.

These laws of Solon were inscribed on tablets of wood, and placed in the Agora, or public square, where they might be read by all.

The Tyrant Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.).—Solon had the unspeakable misfortune of living to see his institutions overthrown by an ambitious kinsman, his nephew Pisistratus. This man courted popular favor, and called himself the “friend of the people.” One day, having inflicted many wounds upon himself, he drove his chariot hastily into the public square, and pretended that he had been thus set upon by the nobles, because of his devotion to the people’s cause. The people, moved with sympathy and indignation, voted him a guard of fifty men. Under cover of raising this company, Pisistratus gathered a much larger force, seized the Acropolis, and made himself master of Athens.

The rule of the usurper was mild, and under him Athens enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He adorned the capital with temples and other splendid buildings. Just beyond the city walls, he laid out the Lyceum, a sort of public park, made inviting with groves, porches, and promenades, which became in after-years the famous resort of the philosophers and poets of Athens. He was a liberal patron of literature; and his library—the first gathered at Athens—was generously thrown open to the public. He also caused the Homeric poems to be collected and edited. After many changes of fortune in his

contests with the nobles, he died thirty-two years after his seizure of the citadel. Solon himself said of him that he had no vice save ambition.

Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.).—The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their parental rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus, having insulted a young noble, was assassinated. Hippias escaped harm, but “on a sudden, from a mild, affable, and beneficent friend, he was turned into a suspicious, stern, and cruel tyrant, who regarded all his subjects as secret enemies.” His tyranny and cruelty finally led the people to rise against him; and in the year preceding the expulsion of the kings from Rome, Hippias and all his house were driven into perpetual exile (510 B.C.).

Ostracism.—After the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias and his family, several changes in the constitution, brought about through the influence of Cleisthenes, rendered it still more democratical than under Solon. Of these innovations that known as *ostracism* was the most characteristic and important. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of from four to ten years. Six thousand votes cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a piece of pottery, or shell (in Greek *ostrakon*), hence the term ostracism.

This institution was often abused; yet it was a great defence against ambitious politicians whom the people had reason to think were plotting against the republic, though it would have been difficult or impossible to prove them guilty of any overt crime or misconduct.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GRÆCO-PERSIAN WARS.

(500-479 B.C.)

Expeditions of Darius against Greece.—In narrating the history of the Persians, we have already told how Darius, after having subdued the revolt of his Ionian subjects in Asia Minor, turned his armaments against the Athenians, to punish them for the part they had taken in the capture and burning of Sardis. We have seen how ill-fated was his first expedition, which was led by his son-in-law Mardonius—the army being cut almost to pieces in Thrace by the fierce native tribes, and the fleet being shattered by heavy seas off the stormy promontory of Mount Athos.

Undismayed by the disaster that had befallen the expedition of Mardonius, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. Meanwhile he sent heralds to the various Grecian states to demand earth and water, which elements among the Persians were symbols of submission. The weaker states gave the tokens required; but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells, and bade them help themselves to earth and water. By the beginning of the year 490 B.C., another Persian army of 120,000 men had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece. This armament was intrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes; but was under the guidance of the traitorous Hippias, who, after his banishment from Athens, had become a resident at the Persian court. A fleet of six hundred ships bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean towards the Grecian

shores. After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the important city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely two days' journey from Athens. Here is a sheltered bay, which is edged by a crescent-shaped plain, backed by the rugged ranges of Parnes and Pentelicus. Upon this level ground the Persian generals drew up their army, flushed and confident with their recent successes.

The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.).—The Athenians were nerved by the very magnitude of the danger to almost super-human energy. Slaves were transformed into soldiers by the promise of liberty. A fleet runner was despatched to Sparta for aid. But it so happened that the Spartans were in the midst of their religious games, during which it was thought ill-omened to undertake any enterprise. They promised aid, but moved only in time to reach Athens when all was over. The Platæans, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians on account of some former service, no sooner received the latter's appeal for help than they responded to a man.

The Athenians and their faithful allies, numbering about ten thousand in all, under the command of Miltiades, were drawn up in battle-array just where the hills of Pentelicus sink down into the plain of Marathon. The vast host of the Persians filled the level ground in their front. The fate of Greece and the future of Europe were in the keeping of Miltiades and his trusty warriors. Without waiting for the attack of the Persians, the Greeks charged and swept like a tempest from the mountain over the plain, pushing the Persians back towards the shore and throwing the entire host into complete disarray. The loss of the Persians in attempting to gain their ships was frightful, and the broken and dispirited fragments of the army were borne by the vessels back to the Asiatic shore (490 B.C.).

Thus the cloud that had lowered so threateningly over Hellas was for a time dissipated. The most imposing honors were

accorded to the heroes who had achieved the glorious victory, and their names and deeds were transmitted to posterity in song and marble. The gods were believed to have interposed in behalf of Greece; and the grateful Athenians ordered their great sculptor Phidias to cut the block of marble which the confident Persians had brought with them to set up as a monument of their anticipated victory, into a statue of Nemesis, the goddess who punishes the proud and insolent. The brazen arms and shields gathered from the battle-field were melted into a colossal statue of Minerva, which was placed upon the Acropolis, as the guardian of Athens.

Results of the Battle of Marathon.—The battle of Marathon is reckoned as one of the “decisive battles of the world.” It marks an epoch, not only in the life of Greece, but in that of Europe. The spell and prestige of the Persian name and arms were broken. It decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of the West, with all its incentives to personal effort, should control the affairs and mould the ideas and institutions of the future. It gave the Hellenic peoples that position of authority and pre-eminence that had been so long enjoyed by the successive races of the East. It especially revealed the Athenians to themselves. The consciousness of resources and power became the inspiration of their future acts. They performed great deeds thereafter because they believed themselves able to perform them.

Xerxes' Preparations to Invade Greece.—No sooner had the news of the disaster at Marathon been carried to Darius than he began to make gigantic preparations to avenge this second defeat and insult. It was in the midst of these plans for revenge that, as we have already learned, death cut short his reign, and his son Xerxes came to the throne. Urged on by his nobles, as well as by exiled Greeks at his court, who sought

to gratify ambition or enjoy revenge in the humiliation and ruin of their native land, Xerxes pushed forward with the utmost energy the preparations begun by his father. For eight years all Asia resounded with the din of preparation. Levies were made upon all the provinces, from India to the Hellespont, that acknowledged the authority of the Great King. Vast contingents of vessels were furnished by the coast countries of the Mediterranean. Immense stores of provisions, the harvests of many years, were gathered into great storehouses along the intended lines of march.

While all these preparations were going on in Asia itself, Phœnician architects were employed in spanning the Hellespont with a double bridge of boats, that should unite the two continents as with a royal highway. At the same time, the isthmus at Mount Athos, in rounding which promontory the admirals of Mardonius had lost their fleet, was cut by a canal. Three years were consumed in these gigantic works. With them completed, or far advanced, Xerxes set out from his capital, to join the countless host that from all quarters of the compass were gathering in Asia Minor.

The Hellespontine Bridges Broken.—As the vast army was about to move from Sardis, intelligence came that the bridges across the Hellespont had been wrecked by a violent tempest. It is said that Xerxes in great wrath ordered the architects to be put to death, and the sea to be bound with fetters and scourged. The scourgers faithfully performed their duty, at the same time gratuitously cursing the traitorous and rebellious Hellespont with what Herodotus calls “non-Hellenic and blasphemous terms.”

Other architects spanned the channel with two stronger and firmer bridges. Each roadway rested upon a row of from three to four hundred vessels, all securely anchored like modern pontoons. The bridges were each about one mile in length, and furnished with high parapets, that the horses and cattle might not be rendered uneasy at sight of the water.

Passage of the Hellespont.—With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Before the passage commenced, the bridges were strewn with the sacred myrtle and perfumed with incense from golden censers, while the sea was placated with libations poured by the king himself. As the east reddened with the approach of the sun, prayers were offered, and the moment the rays of Helios touched the bridges the passage began. To avoid accidents and delays, the trains of baggage wagons and the beasts of burden crossed by one causeway, leaving the other free for the march of the army. The first of the host to cross were the sacred guard of the Great King, the Ten Thousand Immortals, all crowned with garlands as in festival procession. Preceding the king, moved slowly the gorgeous Chariot of the Sun, drawn by eight milk-white steeds. Herodotus affirms that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

The Review and Census.—Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the Grecian shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census. It was the largest armament that the world had yet gathered for any enterprise. To Herodotus it seemed that all Asia and Africa were there seeking the ruin of Greece. Forty-six different nations marched beneath the ensign of the Persian king. The costumes and equipments of the different contingents were as varied as the countries whence they came. There was every variety of dress, from the light cotton tunic of the native of India to the leopard-skin in which the Ethiopian wrapped his body. Some were clad in bronze armor; others offered their naked bodies to the blows of the enemy. The weapons borne varied from the well-tempered

blade of Damascus to the fire-hardened stave of the Libyan. Some of the nomadic horsemen were armed simply with the lasso.

The countless host could be numbered in no usual way. Ten thousand men were crowded in as close a body as possible and a low wall raised about them. Then these passed out of the enclosure, which was again packed with soldiers, and when no more could find room, it was calculated that 10,000 were within. One hundred and seventy times was the enclosure thus filled and emptied. According to this rude enumeration, the land force of Xerxes amounted to 1,700,000 men. The naval force brought the number up to the amazing total of 2,317,000. Herodotus adds to this about an equal number of slaves and attendants, making the entire host number between five and six million persons. It is thought by some that these figures are exaggerated, and that the actual number of the Persian army could have been hardly more than half that given by the historian.

Provisioning the Persian Army.—From the plain of Doriscus the Persian army moved on towards the Pass of Thermopylæ. The cities along the route had been ordered to prepare repasts for the army as it advanced, and to furnish special delicacies for the royal table. The people, through policy or fear, made extraordinary efforts to entertain in a becoming manner their self-imposed guest and to feed his soldiers. Herodotus affirms, and there seems no reason to doubt his statement, that some of the towns were driven to distraction, and others to the very verge of ruin. The people, however, notwithstanding their perplexity and distress, found occasion to thank the gods because Xerxes, according to the Persian custom, required but one meal a day. "Had the monarch required breakfast as well as dinner," says Herodotus, "the citizens must have been reduced to the alternative either of exile or of utter destitution."

Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.).—Leading from Thessaly into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ, or “Hot Gates.”

At this point was offered the first resistance to the progress of the Persian army. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedæmonian soldiers and six thousand allies from different states of Greece, held the pass. As happened at the time of the battle of Marathon, the celebration of the sacred games was going on, and this mere handful of men were left unsupported to hold in check the army of Xerxes. It was not indifference or lack of energy which led the Grecian states in this crisis to act thus, but their religious scruples. Their action is likened by Grote to that of the Jews, who permitted the Roman works to be pushed forward against their city during the Sabbath without any attempt at resistance. But if their religious scruples brought upon the Greeks at Thermopylæ an almost irretrievable disaster, we shall see the same sentiment becoming the salvation of their country at Salamis.

By a special interposition of the gods, as it seemed to the pious Greeks, a furious tempest drove the Persian fleet upon the shore and dashed to pieces over four hundred ships. This prevented Xerxes from landing a force farther down the coast in the rear of Leonidas. The Spartans could now be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front. For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. The Asiatics were driven to the attack by their officers armed with lashes. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed; even the Ten Thousand Immortals were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

An act of treachery on the part of a native Greek rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. A by-way leading over the mountains to the rear of the Spartans was revealed to Xerxes. The startling intelligence was brought

to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. He saw instantly that all was lost. The allies were permitted to seek safety in flight while opportunity remained. But to him and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defence of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, being overwhelmed at last by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished nine hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their companions. Over the bodies of the Spartan soldiers a monument was afterwards erected with this inscription: "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their orders."

The Burning of Athens.—Athens now lay open to the invaders. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, thinking only of their own safety, commenced throwing up defences across the narrow isthmus of Corinth, working day and night under the impulse of an almost insane fear. Athens was thus left outside to care for herself.

Counsels were divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athene that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant." But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forest on the mountains; others believed the oracle meant the wooden palisade about the Acropolis; but Themistocles (who it is thought may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated. The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were car-

ried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica and the capital were thus deserted to the conquerors.

A few days afterwards the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, which they rendered more desolate by ravaging the fields and burning the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate, and her splendid temples sank in flames. Sardis was avenged. The joy in distant Susa was unbounded.

The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.).—Just off the coast of Attica, separated from the mainland by a narrow passage of water, lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet. The persuasive eloquence of Themistocles alone brought the Greeks to the determination to face here the Persian squadrons. To hasten on the Persian attack before dissensions should divide the Greek forces, Themistocles resorted to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Xerxes representing that he himself was ready to espouse the Persian cause, and advised an immediate attack upon the Athenian fleet, which he represented as being in no condition to make any formidable resistance. Xerxes was deceived. He ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.

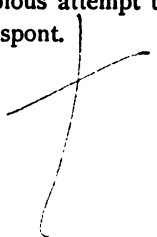
The blow was decisive. Xerxes lost faith in his undertaking and in his allies. He feared that treachery might burn or break the Hellespontine bridges, and thus endanger his own safety. He instantly despatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 men to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, and effect, as he promised to do, the conquest of the rest of Greece, the monarch set out on his ignominious retreat to Asia.

The Battles of Plataea and Mycale (479 B.C.).—The next year the Persian fleet and army thus left behind in Europe were en-

tirely destroyed both on the same day—the army at Platæa, near Thebes ; and the fleet, including the Asiatic land forces, at Mycale, on the Ionian coast. Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale were the successive blows that shattered into fragments the most splendid armaments ever commanded by Asiatic despot.

Memorials and Trophies of the War.—The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout all Greece. Poets and artists and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger.

Nor did the pious Grecians think that the marvellous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. To the temple at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tithe of the immense spoils in gold and silver from the field of Platæa ; and within the sanctuary of Minerva, upon the Acropolis at Athens, were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the audacious and impious attempt to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.



CHAPTER XVI.

PERIOD OF ATHENIAN SUPREMACY.

(479-431 B.C.)

Loyalty of Athens to the Grecian Cause.—Athens had braved everything for the common cause of Hellas. The patriotism of her citizens had never wavered. When Mardonius sought with bribes to detach them from the Grecian league, they replied to his messenger that “no conceivable temptation, either of money or territory, should induce them to desert the ties of brotherhood, common language, or religion.” Their lofty patriotism and unswerving loyalty to the general interests of Greece—in striking contrast to the narrow selfishness of the Spartans—were now rewarded. Athens was accorded the place of honor and pre-eminence among the Grecian states. The loss and suffering entailed by the destruction of her dwellings and temples were repaired and forgotten during the period of prosperity upon which she now entered. Her maritime power, and her reputation as a centre of wealth and refinement and the home of art and literature, were secured by the address and genius of a succession of statesmen, artists, and writers such as perhaps no other city in ancient or modern times ever produced. The important public events that fill the period intervening between the battle of Plataea and the breaking-out of the Peloponnesian War (479-431 B.C.) will be found, as we now proceed to narrate them in the very briefest way, to connect themselves especially with four names of the widest renown—Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Rebuilding the Walls of Athens.—After the Persians had

been expelled from Greece, the first care of the Athenians was the rebuilding of their homes. Their next task was the restoration of the city walls. The exalted hopes for the future which had been raised by the almost incredible achievements and endurance of the past few months led the Athenians to draw a vast circuit of seven miles about the Acropolis as the line of the new ramparts. The rival states of Peloponnesus watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. While they could not but admire Athens, they feared her. Sparta sent an embassy to dissuade the citizens from rebuilding the walls, hypocritically assigning as the cause of her interest in the matter her solicitude lest in case of another Persian invasion the city, if captured, might become a shelter and defence to the enemy.

Themistocles as an Envoy.—The crafty Themistocles, the Ulysses of Athens, and the most popular leader of this time, had a talent for just such diplomacy as the case seemed to demand; for the Athenians were not strong enough to insist by force of arms upon their right to manage their own affairs. Themistocles caused the Spartan envoys to be sent home with the reply that Athens would send commissioners to Sparta to consider the matter with them there. Then, as one of the envoys, he himself set out for Sparta, having previously arranged that the other members of the embassy should not leave Athens until the walls were sufficiently advanced to defy assault. With astonishing unanimity and energy, the entire population of Athens, rich and poor, men, women, and children, set to work upon the walls. Material was torn from temples and tombs and built into the defences.

While this was going on at Athens, Themistocles was at Sparta, with amazing address wondering with the Lacedæmonians what so delayed his colleagues. From day to day the business upon which he had come was postponed, to give time for the arrival of the tardy envoys. At length rumors came to

Sparta of the state of affairs at Athens. Themistocles assured the people that these were mere idle reports. Fresh rumors came. Then he advised them to send messengers of their own to Athens to get the truth of the matter. They did so. But Themistocles had already despatched a messenger to the Athenians informing them that the Spartan envoys were on the way, and ordering their detention in Athens. By all these stratagems sufficient time was gained to raise the walls to such a height that the Athenians could defy interference. Then Themistocles boldly administered some "wholesome advice to the Spartans. He told them that when they and their allies sent ambassadors again to Athens, to deal with the Athenians as with reasonable men, who could discern what belonged to their own interest, and what to the general interest of Greece."

These circumstances attendant upon the refortifying of the Athenian capital we have narrated at some length, because of the light they throw upon the succeeding history of Athens. They exhibit the tremendous energy with which the memory of the recent great events of the Persian War inspired the Athenians. As Grote observes, both arm and mind were strung to the very highest pitch. It was this tension, calling forth the very best in every man, that carried forward events at Athens with such almost preternatural energy during the two or three generations immediately following that great struggle. This contention respecting the walls of Athens also affords us a glimpse of the rising jealousy between Sparta and Athens, which at last, intensified by their different political tendencies, issued in that long and calamitous struggle between these two rival states and their allies known as the Peloponnesian War.

Naval Policy of the Athenians.—Eminent as was the service which Themistocles had rendered to his native city in the conduct of the Spartan negotiations, he now conferred a still greater benefit by the exercise of his prudence and genius in the shaping of the naval policy of the ambitious Athenians. This far-

sighted statesman saw clearly that Athens's supremacy among the Grecian states must be secured and maintained by her mastery of the sea. He had unbounded visions of the maritime power and glory that might come to her through her fleet, those "wooden walls" to which at this moment she owed her very existence; and he succeeded in inspiring his countrymen with his own sanguine hopes and enthusiasm. In the prosecution of his views, he persuaded the Athenians to enlarge the harbor of Piræus, the most spacious of the three ports of Athens, and to surround the place with immense walls, far exceeding, both in compass and strength, those of the capital. He also led his countrymen to the resolution of adding each year twenty well-equipped triremes to their navy.

This policy, initiated by Themistocles, was zealously pursued by the statesmen that after him successively assumed the lead in Athenian affairs. Under the influence of Pericles, the Athenians built the famous Long Walls, by means of which Piræus and Athens were united, and the capital and its port thus converted into a vast fortified district.* With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on land and on sea.

Character of Themistocles.—Themistocles well deserved the honor of being called, as he was, the founder of the New Athens. But although a great and far-seeing statesman, to whose commanding ability in war and in peace Athens owed almost everything, still those imperfections of character which we can-

* The Long Walls were each between four and five miles in length, and were sixty feet in height. They were defended by numerous towers, which, when Athens became crowded, were used as shops and private dwellings. The walls were employed as highways, the top being wide enough to allow two chariots to pass conveniently. The foundation of the northern wall now forms the road-bed of the modern railroad running from Piræus to Athens.

not have failed to notice at last brought him into disgrace. He used unscrupulously the power and position which his abilities and services secured him. He accepted bribes and sold his influence, thereby acquiring an enormous property. Finally he was ostracized and went into exile (471 B.C.). After long wanderings, he became a resident at the court of the Persian king. By his consummate address, and profuse promises to aid the Persians in their designs against Greece, he attained at court precedence of the native nobles. Artaxerxes, in accordance with Persian usage, provided for the courtier exile by assigning to three cities the care of providing for his table: one furnished bread, a second meat, and a third wines. It is told that one day, as he sat down to his richly loaded board, he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!"

Aristides the Just.—The most illustrious contemporary and rival of Themistocles was Aristides the Just. Less great in mind than Themistocles, he was immeasurably his superior in character. Before the time of which we are treating, he had already rendered many and eminent services to his native state. He was one of the ten Athenian generals that led the Grecian forces at Marathon. Not long after that battle, his rival, Themistocles, by unworthy intrigue, secured against him a decree of banishment. It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the popular assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, approached and asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name desired upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," responded the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

With a spirit just the opposite of that evinced by Camillus, who, when banished by his countrymen, invoked the gods to send such calamities upon them that they would speedily pray

for his return, the patriot Aristides went into exile praying the gods that nothing might befall his native city which should cause those that had procured his banishment to mourn his absence. Nevertheless, such an event soon did occur. Only six years had passed when the threatening danger of the invasion by Xerxes led to his recall by the Athenians, to aid Themistocles in the defence of the state. He fought at Salamis and Platæa, and, after the retreat of the Persians, became at Athens the rival of Themistocles in popular favor and esteem. It was the universal confidence inspired by his uprightness of character that enabled him to secure for his native city that supremacy in the foreign affairs of Hellas which had been hitherto accorded to Sparta alone. How this came about will appear in the following paragraphs.

The Confederacy of Delos.—To defend themselves more effectively against the Persians—who for two centuries after the disastrous expedition of Xerxes never ceased, by intrigue and open force, to vex the Grecian communities—the Ionian states of Asia Minor, the islands of the Ægean, and some of the states in Greece proper, mostly north of the Isthmus, formed themselves into what is known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta had hitherto been accorded the place of pre-eminence and authority in all such alliances of the Hellenic cities. She had come, indeed, to regard herself as the natural guardian and leader of Greece. But at this time the unbearable arrogance of the Spartan king Pausanias, and also his proven treacherous overtures to Xerxes, in which, in return for magnificent bribes—the daughter of Xerxes as a bride and an immense fortune in gold—he was to surrender all Greece into the hands of the Persians, led the states which had entered into the alliance to look to Athens to assume the position of leadership in the new confederacy.

The lofty character of Aristides, who now commanded the Athenian army, and his great reputation for fairness and incor-

ruptible integrity, also contributed to the same result. He was chosen the first president of the league (477 B.C.). The sacred isle of Delos was made the repository of the common funds. What proportion of the annual sums needed for carrying out the purposes of the confederacy should be contributed by the different states was left entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence in his equity; and none of the members of the alliance ever had cause of complaint.

Thus did Sparta, through the treachery of her king Pausanias, lose, and Athens, through the justness of her citizen Aristides, gain, the place of precedence among the Ionian states. The Dorian states of Peloponnesus, in the main, still looked to Sparta as their leader and adviser. All Greece was thus divided into two great leagues, under the rival leadership of Sparta and Athens.

The Leadership of Cimon.—Having noticed some of the important public services of Themistocles and Aristides during the first years of what we have called the Period of Athenian Supremacy, we must now narrate some events in the career of Cimon, the ablest and most distinguished of the generals who commanded the armies of the Athenians and their allies during this same period.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was one of those whose spirits had been fired by the exciting events attendant upon the Persian invasion. He had called attention to himself and acquired a certain reputation, at the time of the abandonment of Athens, by being the first to hang up his bridle in the sanctuary of the Acropolis, thus expressing his resolution to place all his confidence in the fleet, as Themistocles advised.

After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, he became one of the most successful of the Grecian generals to whom was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from the hands of the enemy the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast. The rich spoils

of his many victories over the Persians enabled him to fill the treasury of Athens, and also to build up an ample fortune for himself. His private means he dispensed with a lavish hand in benefactions to the poor, in the erection of magnificent public buildings, and in the beautifying of the public walks and parks of Athens. The Academy, the favorite resort of the Athenians, owed much of its beauty to his munificence. He also encouraged the people to push forward the work upon the Long Walls by laying, at his own cost and in a superior manner, a considerable section of the foundations.

One of the most interesting ceremonies in which he took a leading part was the removal of what was declared to be the body of the national hero Theseus from the island of Scyros, where the exiled king is fabled to have died, to a place of entombment at Athens. Over the sacred relics was erected the beautiful Temple of Theseus, which at the present day, after the lapse of more than two thousand years, still marks the spot, and exhibits to us the best-preserved specimen of all the structures of the ancient Grecians.

His Ostracism.—The popularity of Cimon at last declined, and he suffered ostracism, as had Aristides and Themistocles before him. The inconstant Athenians seemed to have inflicted the sentence of exile upon almost all of their greatest leaders earlier or later in their careers. Cimon's loss of public favor came about in this manner. In the year 464 B.C., a terrible earthquake destroyed a large portion of Sparta, and buried a vast number of the inhabitants beneath the ruins of their city. In the panic of the appalling disaster, the Spartans were led to believe that the evil had befallen them as a punishment for their recent violation of the Temple of Neptune, from which some Helots who had fled to the sanctuary for refuge had been torn. The Helots, on their part, were quick to interpret the event as an intervention of the gods in their behalf, and as an unmistakable signal for their uprising. Everywhere they flew

to arms, and, being joined by some of the Provincials, furiously attacked their masters. The Spartans, after maintaining the bitter struggle for several years, finding themselves unable to reduce their former slaves to submission, were forced to ask aid of the other Grecian states. Cimon, who had always entertained the most friendly feelings for the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the Athenians to put aside all sentiments of enmity or jealousy, and to extend succor to their kinsmen in this desperate posture of their affairs. The Athenian forces fought for some time side by side with the Lacedæmonians. But the Spartans were distrustful of the sincerity of their allies, and this feeling gradually grew into positive fear lest the Athenians should take advantage of their position in the country and pass over to the side of the Helots. Acting under this apprehension, which was probably entirely groundless, they dismissed the Athenian forces. The discourtesy of the act aroused the most bitter resentment at Athens. The party that had always opposed the resolution of aiding their rivals as weakly sentimental and impolitic, took advantage of the exasperated feelings of the people to secure the exercise of the ostracism against Cimon, as the chief espouser of the undertaking; and he was sent into an exile of ten years. Pericles, the most distinguished of Athenian statesmen, now became the popular idol and leader.

Pericles and the Periclean Age (469-429 B.C.).—This was the most brilliant period of Athenian history. It embraced little more than the life of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overestimated. During this short period Athens gave birth to more great men—poets, artists, statesmen, and philosophers—than all the world has ever produced in any other period of equal length.

Among the great minds of this age, Pericles stood conspicuous. Such was the impression left by his commanding statesmanship, his persuasive eloquence, and his almost universal

genius upon the period in which he lived that it is called after him the Periclean Age. Under his able leadership, Athens speedily rose to a place of absolute supremacy among all her sister Ionian states. These, from the position of peers in an equal alliance, became in reality the tributaries of Athens. What had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign states became an empire, with Athens as the imperial city. Literature, art, and philosophy were carried to the highest perfection possible to human genius ; and the capital was made brilliant with temples and various splendid architectural monuments. It was during this period that the Acropolis was adorned with the Parthenon and other edifices, conceived and executed by the genius of Phidias and his companion artists.

Never before had any people enjoyed such perfect liberty as did the Athenians during this era ; and never before, probably, were any people, by so intimate a knowledge of political affairs, so well able to direct the public policies of their state. The government, in so far as it was related to the Athenians themselves, was at this time almost a pure democracy. Every matter that concerned the empire was discussed and determined upon in the popular assembly. Pericles's power was, indeed, almost supreme ; but it was only the influence and authority which talent and character justly confer.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR : SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACY.

(431-362 B.C.)

Cause and Beginning of the War.—During the closing years of the life of Pericles, the growing jealousy between Athens and Sparta broke out in the long struggle known as the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.). Pericles had foreseen the coming storm: "I descry war," said he, "lowering from Peloponnesus." He saw clearly that sooner or later the opposing principles and jealousies of the two rival states must bring them into collision. His whole policy looked towards the preparation of his country for the inevitable struggle.

The immediate occasion of the war was Athens's interference in a quarrel between Corinth and the island of Corcyra. Sparta espoused the cause of the former, who appealed to her as leader of the Peloponnesian states. The Dorian states of Peloponnesus, with many of the countries north of the Isthmus, ranged themselves on the side of aristocratical Sparta; while the Ionian states in Greece, on the Ægean islands, and along the shores of Thrace and Asia Minor, generally allied themselves with the cause of republican Athens. The struggle was now begun in which both parties were destined to grind each other to pieces, and leave all Hellas an easy prey to the Macedonian conqueror.

A Peloponnesian army was soon overrunning the countries north of the Isthmus. Pericles persuaded the people of Attica to abandon their towns and villas and gather within the walls of the capital. He did not deem it prudent to risk a battle with the Spartans in the open field. From the walls of Athens

the people could see the flames of their burning towns as the enemy ravaged the plains of Attica up to the very gates of the city. It required all the persuasion of Pericles to restrain them from issuing in a body from behind the ramparts and rushing to the defence of their homes.

Pestilence at Athens.—The second year the Lacedæmonians again ravaged the fields about Athens, and drove the Athenians almost to frenzy with the sight of the flame and smoke of such property and villas as had escaped the destruction of the previous year. To increase their misery, a pestilence broke out within the crowded city, and added its horrors to the already unbearable calamities of war. No pen could picture the despair and gloom that settled over the city. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of the capital through these dark days, fell a victim to the plague. In dying, he said he considered his greatest praise to be that “he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning.”

Progress of the War.—The ruinous effects of the war were felt throughout the entire Hellenic world ; for the colonies as well as the states of the mother-land were involved in the calamitous quarrel. So nearly matched in strength and resources were the two rivals with their subject allies, and so deep were the animosities aroused, that the only possible end seemed to be in the mutual exhaustion of the contending states. Almost every year the Lacedæmonians invaded and ravaged the country north of the Isthmus : the Athenians retaliated by desolating with their fleet the coasts of Peloponnesus.

The Mityleneans.—On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. A single ray of light comes from Athens. The city of Mitylene, on the island of Lesbos, a subject ally of the Athenians, had revolted. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mityleneans was in the

hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon, a popular but unprincipled demagogue, proposed that all the adult citizens of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed, and a galley despatched bearing the sentence for execution to the Athenian general at Mitylene.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty and cruel resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called; the barbarous vote was repealed; and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The oarsmen of the trireme, with every nerve strung to the highest tension by the nature of their errand as well as by the promise of large rewards dependent upon the success of their mission, urged the vessel across the *Ægean* with almost preternatural energy. The trireme reached the island just in time to save the Mityleneans from a cruel fate and the Athenians from a lasting disgrace.

The Athenians, it must be confessed, knew but little of humanity, for the world had not yet learned to regard highly the gentler virtues; yet this incident causes the disposition of the Athenians to appear mild and humane when compared with the unrelenting cruelty of the Spartans, as exhibited in their dealings with the Plataeans and the Helots of Laconia. The former, upon the capture of their city, they massacred to a man; two thousand of the latter they secretly and treacherously assassinated, simply because they feared their increasing number and power.

Close of the Peloponnesian War.—An expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily, was a fatal step on the part of Athens. It was planned by Alcibiades, a brave and brilliant general, but a reckless and unsafe counsellor. The enterprise proved terribly disastrous, and the resources of Athens were wrecked. Her subject allies now deserted her. The Persians,

ever ready to aid the Greeks in destroying one another, lent aid to the Spartans. Finally, at Ægos Potamos (goat's river), in Asia Minor, the Athenian navy was captured by the Spartan fleet under Lysander. The following year, 404 B.C., Athens was forced to surrender; and the Long Walls, the building of which Sparta had regarded with undisguised jealousy, were levelled to the ground. Sparta's authority was now supreme. She had neither peer nor rival among the Grecian states.

Thus after a war of twenty-seven years—a struggle ever memorable on account of its calamitous results—were all the early hopes and promises of freedom-loving Athens broken and crushed. The loss to the world, and to the cause of civilization, we cannot estimate.

Period of Spartan and Theban Supremacy.

Spartan Supremacy.—For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Grecian states. Aristocratical governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the peninsula. At Athens, the democratical constitution of Solon, under which the Athenians had attained their greatness, was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the institutions and laws of Solon were re-established.

It was during this period that Socrates, the greatest moralist and teacher of antiquity, was condemned to death, because his teachings were thought contrary to the religion of the Athenians. To this era also belongs the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks.

Expedition of the Ten Thousand.—The aid given by the Persians to Sparta in the Peloponnesian War was not altogether unselfish. Cyrus, satrap of the Persian provinces of Asia Minor,

thinking that his brother Artaxerxes held the throne unjustly, was secretly planning to seize it for himself. In the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, when he saw the tide of events turning against Athens, he lent aid to the Spartans; proposing thus to place them under obligation to him, so that he could ask their aid in his contemplated enterprise. Now the time had come for the return of the favor. To the army of one hundred thousand barbarians which Cyrus had raised in Asia, the Spartans added about eleven thousand Greek soldiers.

With this force Cyrus set out from Sardis, in the spring of 401 B.C. He marched without opposition across Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to Babylonia, into the very heart of the Persian Empire. Here, at Cunaxa, he was confronted by Artaxerxes with a force of more than half a million of men. The barbarian allies of Cyrus were scattered at the first onset of the enemy; but the Greeks stood like a rampart of rock. Cyrus, however, was slain; and the other Greek generals, having been persuaded to enter into a council, were treacherously murdered by the Persians.

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. One of these was Xenophon, the famous historian of the expedition. Now commenced one of the most memorable retreats in all history. After a most harassing march over the hot plains of the Tigris and the icy passes of Armenia, the survivors reached the Black Sea, the abode of sister Greek colonies.

Decline of the Spartan State.—The part taken by the Greeks in the enterprise of Cyrus led the Persian monarch Artaxerxes to seek revenge by interfering anew in the affairs of Greece. The Greek cities of Asia were the first to feel the resentment of the Great King. The Spartans, under their king Agesilaus, extended them timely and efficient aid. At one time it seemed as though the Persian authority in Asia Minor would be completely destroyed. But meanwhile Persian gold was effecting

in Greece what the Persian sword was unable to accomplish in Asia. The emissaries of Artaxerxes, by persuasions and bribes, had secured a coalition of the Grecian states against Sparta, and the threatening movements of these forced Agesilaus to return in haste to defend his own country. A disastrous struggle known as the Corinthian War now followed, in which the Lacedæmonians contended against the Athenians, the Persians, and other allied states. Finally, after all parties were weary of the contest, the war was ended by the Peace of Antalcidas, so called from the Spartan commissioner who arranged the articles of the treaty. By the terms of this peace, famous because so infamous, all the cities of Asia Minor, as well as some of the islands of the Mediterranean, were handed over to the Persians, while the states of Greece were left each in a condition of isolated independence.

Sparta has been accused of selfishness in the part she took in forcing the Grecian states to accept the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas. But we should not be too ready to cast blame upon her. It is true that, in order to break the coalition that had been formed against her, she bartered away the liberties of the Hellenic cities in Asia; but we must bear in mind that this measure was dictated by the instinct of self-preservation. There were at Sparta some at least animated by feelings of sufficiently generous patriotism to cause them to lament the circumstances that thus laid Greece open to the mercy of her enemy. Among these was the patriot king Agesilaus, whom Plutarch calls the "Thought Commander and King of all Greece." Referring to the jealousies and contentions of the Hellenic states which had now resulted in making the hated Persians arbiters in their affairs, he exclaimed, "Alas for Greece! she has killed enough of her sons to have conquered all these barbarians."

The Peace of Antalcidas left Sparta free to prosecute anew her schemes of aggression and tyranny towards the other Grecian states, that were now too divided and weakened to offer

any effectual resistance to her oppressive course. But finally the fiery resentment kindled by her tyrannous measures inspired such a determined revolt against her as brought to a final end her assumed supremacy over her sister cities.

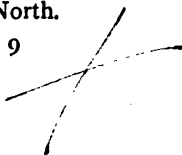
Theban Supremacy (371-362 B.C.).—It was a city in Boeotia that led the uprising against Sparta. This was Thebes. The oligarchical government which the Lacedæmonians had set up in that capital was overthrown by Pelopidas at the head of a company of returned exiles called the Sacred Band. Pelopidas was seconded in all his efforts by Epaminondas, one of the ablest generals the Grecian race ever produced. Under the masterly guidance and inspiration of these patriot leaders, Thebes very soon secured a predominating influence in the affairs of Greece.

Like many others who have done most for their generation, Epaminondas was often unjustly accused and persecuted. He it was who, when his enemies sought to disgrace and annoy him by electing him "public scavenger," made, in accepting the office, the memorable utterance, "If the office will not reflect honor upon me, I will reflect honor upon it."

At Leuctra (371 B.C.) the Thebans earned the renown of being the most invincible soldiers in the world by completely overthrowing, with a force of six thousand men, the Spartan army of twice that number. Again at Mantinea, in Peloponnesus, Epaminondas led the Thebans once more to victory (362 B.C.); but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes.

Notwithstanding that the few years of Theban history which are made illustrious by the patriot spirits of Pelopidas and Epaminondas are usually designated as the period of Theban Supremacy, yet it is scarcely correct to thus characterize them; for Thebes really never secured that position of pre-eminence and command for which she made such an heroic struggle. But her efforts and sacrifices were not without result: they

brought to an end the power of Sparta, whose dominance over the Hellenic states had ever been so hateful and so oppressive. "Sparta had, however, the consolation to see that none of her rivals was, or would be, able to supplant her. The sceptre had, indeed, been wrested from her ; but it had at the same time been broken to pieces" (Thirlwall). All the states of Greece now lay exhausted, worn out by their endless domestic contentions and wars. There was scarcely sufficient strength left to strike one worthy blow against enslavement by the master destined soon to come from the North.



CHAPTER XVIII.

PERIOD OF MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY.

(338-323 B.C.)

Macedonian Rulers of Hellenic Race.—Although political power and influence have now passed away from the Grecian cities of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, still we must not think that political authority has departed from the Hellenic race; for though the mass of the population of the country of Macedonia, which lay to the north of Greece proper, and which is now to assume the lead in the civil affairs of the Greeks, may not have sprung from identically the same stock as that from which the Hellenes arose, still the ruling class of that country were the same in race, language, and religion. So this period of Macedonian supremacy upon which we are entering belongs to the history of the political life of the Greek race, as well as the eras marked by Athenian, Spartan, or Theban leadership. It was Hellenic institutions, customs, and manners, Hellenic language and civilization, that the Macedonians, in the extended conquest which we are about to narrate, spread over the world.

Philip of Macedon.—Macedonia first rose to importance about 359 B.C., under the reign of Philip II., better known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of pre-eminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and possessed rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain. He was the originator of the "Macedonian phalanx," a body as renowned in the military history of Macedonia as is the "legion" in that of Rome.

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the mastery of the Grecian states of the Peninsula. He attempted to gain his purpose rather by artful diplomacy and intrigue than by open force. In the use of these weapons he might have been the teacher of the Athenian Themistocles.

Battle of Chæronea.—Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. His penetration, like Pericles's, descried a cloud lowering over Greece—this time from the North. With all the fervor of his fiery eloquence, he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist the encroachments of the King of Macedon. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

At length the Athenians and Thebans united their forces, and met Philip upon the field of Chæronea, in Bœotia. The Macedonian phalanx swept everything before it. The power and authority of Philip were now extended and acknowledged throughout Greece (338 B.C.).

Plan to Invade Asia.—While the Greek states were divided among themselves, they were united in an undying hatred of the Persians. They were at this time meditating an enterprise fraught with the greatest importance to the history of the world. This was a joint expedition against Persia. The march of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the very heart of the dominions of the Great King had encouraged this national undertaking, and illustrated the feasibility of the conquest of Asia. Philip was chosen leader of this expedition. All Greece was astir with preparation. In the midst of all, Philip was assassinated during the festivities attending the marriage of his daughter, and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power (336 B.C.).

Alexander the Great.—Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. The genius which has won for him the title of "Great" was foreshadowed in early youth. The familiar and well-told story of the vicious steed Bucephalus, which none dared mount or approach, but which was subdued in a moment by the boy Alexander, exhibits that subtle magnetism of his nature by which he acquired such wonderful influence and command over men in after-years. The spirit of the man is again shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories came to him: "Friends," said he to his playmates, "father will possess himself of everything, and leave nothing for us to do."

Alexander Crosses the Hellespont (334 B.C.).—In the spring of 334, Alexander, with all his plans matured, set out, at the head of an army numbering about 35,000, for the conquest of the Persian Empire. Now commenced one of the most remarkable and swiftly executed campaigns recorded in history. Crossing the Hellespont, Alexander routed the Persians at the battle of Granicus. By this victory all Asia Minor was laid open to the invaders.

The Gordian Knot.—On Alexander's route through Asia Minor was the city of Gordium, where, in the Temple of Jupiter, hung the famous Gordian knot. Respecting this the following story is told: An oracle had commanded the Phrygians, in a time of great perplexity, to choose as their king the first person that came to sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter. The peasant Gordius was the one whom chance designated. He was riding in a wagon when the people proclaimed him king. Some accounts, however, say that it was his son Midas—who was with his father—that was elevated to the throne. Grateful to the gods for the honor that had fallen upon his house, Gordius consecrated the wagon as a memorial in the Temple of Zeus. It was gradually spread abroad that an oracle had

declared that whoever should untie the skilfully fastened knot which united the yoke to the pole of the chariot should be master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to unloosen the artful knot, he impetuously drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase "cutting the Gordian knot," meaning a short way out of a difficulty. The marvellous fulfilment of the prediction in the subsequent successes of Alexander gave new faith and credit to the oracle.

The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.).—At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of the Issus. Here Alexander again defeated the Persian army, numbering 600,000 men. The family of Darius, including his mother, wife, and children, fell into the hands of Alexander; but the king himself escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital, Susa, to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

Siege of Tyre.—Before penetrating to the heart of the empire, Alexander turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia, that he might command the Phœnician fleets and prevent their being used to sever his communication with Greece. The island city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole, or causeway, built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. This mole was constructed out of the ruins of old Tyre and the forests of Lebanon. It still remains, uniting the desolate rock with the mainland. When at last, with the aid of the Sidonian fleet, the city was taken, after a siege of seven months, 8000 of the inhabitants were slain, and 30,000 sold into slavery—a terrible warning to those cities that should dare close their gates against the Macedonian. The reduction of Tyre has been considered the greatest military achievement of Alexander.

Alexander in Egypt.—With the cities of Phœnicia and the fleets of the Mediterranean subject to his control, the conquest

of Egypt was easily effected. The Egyptians, indeed, made no resistance to the Macedonians, and willingly exchanged masters. While in the country Alexander made his mad expedition to the oasis of Ammon, located in the Libyan Desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Jupiter. To gratify his vanity, as well as to impress the superstitious, Alexander desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of a god.

A more worthy enterprise of the conqueror was the founding of a city, called after himself Alexandria, at one of the mouths of the Nile. The city became the meeting-place of the East and the West; and its importance through many centuries attests the far-sighted wisdom of its founder.

The Battle of Arbela.—From Egypt Alexander recommenced his march towards the Persian capital. He crossed the Euphrates and Tigris without opposition; but upon the plain of Arbela, not far from ancient Nineveh, he found his further advance disputed by Darius with a million of men. Again the Macedonian phalanx "cut through the ranks of the Persians as the boat cuts through the waves." The fate of Darius has been already narrated in our story of the last of the Persian kings.*

Alexander in the Aryan Home.—Urged on by an uncontrollable desire to possess himself of the most remote countries of which any accounts had ever reached him, Alexander now led his army to the north, and, after subduing many tribes that dwelt about the Caspian Sea and among the mountainous regions of what is now known as Afghanistan, he boldly conducted his soldiers over the snowy and dangerous passes of the Hindu Kush, and descended into the fair provinces of Bactria, which region we have already described as the earliest home of the

* See p. 117.

various families of the Aryan race. Had Alexander possessed our modern knowledge of the wanderings and relationships of the different Aryan peoples, he might have claimed, as he would have been very likely to do, the entire country as having once belonged to his ancestors.

The Macedonians conquered not only Bactria, but Sogdiana, a country lying north of the Oxus. The capture of the Sogdian Rock is considered one of the great exploits of Alexander. This was a strongly garrisoned citadel, perched upon a rocky eminence with cliffs so lofty and precipitous that it was deemed impregnable. The usual demand for surrender was answered by the insulting question, "Can the Macedonians, who can do almost everything, also fly?" But some soldiers of Alexander's army managed, with the greatest difficulty, to climb to a ledge of rock that overhung and commanded the fortress, which was thus forced to surrender. Among the captives was a beautiful Bactrian princess, Roxana by name, who became the bride of Alexander.

Throughout those distant regions Alexander founded numerous cities, several of which bore his own name. One of them is said to have been built, wall and houses, in twenty days. These new cities were peopled with captives and by those whom fatigue and wounds would no longer allow to follow the conqueror in his swift campaigns. Alexander's stay in Bactria was shadowed by his murder of his dearest friend Clitus, who had saved his life at Granicus. Both were flushed with wine when the quarrel arose: after the deed, Alexander was overwhelmed with remorse.

Conquests in India.—With the countries north of the Hindu Kush subdued and settled, Alexander recrossed the mountains, and led his army down upon the rich and crowded plains of India. Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes of the country. The most formidable resistance encountered by the Mace-

donians was offered by a strong and wealthy king named Porus. Captured at last and brought into the presence of Alexander, his proud answer to the conqueror's question as to how he thought he should be treated was, "Like a king." The impulsive Alexander gave him back his throne and kingdom.

Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur because of the length and hardness of their campaigns, and he reluctantly gave up the undertaking. To secure the conquests already made, he founded at different points Greek towns and colonies. One of these he named Alexandria, in honor of himself; another Bucephala, in memory of his favorite steed; and still another Nicæa, for his victories. The modern museum at Lahore contains many relics of Greek art, dug up on the site of these Macedonian cities and camps.

The return of Alexander's army was through Gedrosia, now Beloochistan, a region frightful with burning deserts, amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings. After a trying and calamitous march of over two months, the survivors reached the old Persian capital Susa. There, amid festivities and games, they forgot the hardships and dangers of their numerous campaigns, which had put to the severest test every power of human endurance.

Plans and Death of Alexander.—As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates. His designs were to push his conquests as far to the west as he had extended them to the east. Arabia, Carthage, Italy, and Spain were to be added to his already vast domains. Indeed, the plans of Alexander embraced nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of fruits and trees from one continent to the

other. Common laws and customs, a common language and religion, were to unite the world in one great family. Inter-marriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married a daughter of Darius III.; and to 10,000 of his soldiers whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives he gave munificent gifts. He adopted the dress of a Persian monarch, and surrounded himself with all the extravagant ceremonials of an Oriental court.

In the midst of his vast projects, Alexander was seized with a sudden illness, and died at Babylon, B.C. 323, in the thirty-second year of his age. His body was carried to Alexandria, and there enclosed in a golden coffin, and over it was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death; for in Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him, and divine worship was paid to his statues.

Character of Alexander.—We must not pass this point without a word, at least, respecting the character of this remarkable man, who, in a brief career of twelve years, changed entirely the currents of history, and pressed them into channels which they would not have followed but for the influence of his life and achievements.

We cannot deny to Alexander, in addition to a remarkable genius for military affairs, a profound and comprehensive intellect. The wisdom shown in the selection of Alexandria as the great depot of the exchanges of the East and the West has been amply proved by the rare fortunes of the city. His plans for the union of Europe and Asia, and the fusion of their different races, might indeed seem visionary, were it not that the degree in which this was actually realized during subsequent centuries attests the sanity of the attempt. He had fine tastes, and liberally encouraged art, science, and literature. Apelles, Praxiteles, and Lysippus had in him a munificent patron; and to his preceptor Aristotle he sent large collections of natural-history

objects, gathered in his extended expeditions. He had an impulsive, kind, and generous nature: he wept over the body of Darius, covering the mutilated remains with his own royal mantle; and he repented in bitter tears over the body of his faithful Clitus.

But he was self-seeking and self-indulgent, foolishly vain, and madly ambitious of military glory. He plunged into shameful excesses, and gave way to bursts of passion that transformed a usually mild and generous disposition into the fury of a madman. The vindictive cruelty manifested in his treatment of the Tyrians can be only partially palliated by reference to the spirit and usages of his age. The burning of the palace at Persepolis was an act of wanton folly, only to be extenuated by subjecting him to the charge of bestial intoxication. The contradictions of his life cannot, perhaps, be better expressed than in the words once applied to the gifted Themistocles: "He was greater in genius than in character."

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF GRECIAN HISTORY.

		B.C.
Legendary Age of Greece	{ Pelasgians in possession of the land.. about	2000
	{ Hellenes conquer and mingle with the Pelasgians.....	" 1400
	{ The Trojan War.....	" 1194-1184
	{ The Dorians enter Peloponnesus...	" 1104
Early History of Sparta.....	{ Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta....	" 900
	{ The Messenian Wars.....	743-668
Early History of Athens	{ Cecrops founds Athens..... about	1550
	{ Rule of the Archons.....	" 1050-620
	{ Rebellion of Cylon.....	" 620
	{ Legislation of Solon.....	" 600
	{ Pisistratus rules.....	560-527
	{ Expulsion of the Pisistratids.....	510
Period of Græco-Persian War...	{ First expedition of Xerxes (led by Mar- donius).....	492
	{ Battle of Marathon.....	490
	{ Battle of Thermopylæ.....	480
	{ Battle of Salamis.....	480
	{ Battles of Plataea and Mycale.....	479
Period of Athenian Supremacy.....	{ Athens rebuilt.....	478
	{ Aristides chosen first president of the Con- federacy of Delos.....	477
	{ Themistocles sent into exile.....	471
	{ Ostracism of Cimon.....	459
	{ Pericles at head of affairs—Periclean Age.	469-429
Events of Pelopon- nesian War....	{ Beginning of Peloponnesian War.....	431
	{ Pestilence at Athens.....	430
	{ Expedition against Syracuse.....	415
	{ Battle of Ægos Potamos.....	405
	{ Close of the War.....	404
Period of Spartan Supremacy.....	{ Rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens....	404-403
	{ Expedition of the Ten Thousand.....	401-400
	{ Peace of Antalcidas.....	387
	{ Oligarchy established at Thebes.....	382
	{ Spartan power broken on the field of Leuc- tra.....	371
Period of Theban Supremacy.....	{ Battle of Leuctra which secures supremacy of Thebes.....	371
	{ Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminon- das.....	362
Period of Macedo- nian Supremacy.	{ Battle of Chæronea.....	338
	{ Death of Philip of Macedon.....	336
	{ Alexander crosses the Hellespont.....	334
	{ Battle of Issus.....	333
	{ Battle of Arbela.....	331
	{ Death of Alexander at Babylon.....	323

CHAPTER XIX.

STATES FORMED FROM THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

Division of the Empire of Alexander.—There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. For several years after his death, the vast empire he had consolidated was torn and distracted by quarrels and wars, until at last the enormous domain over which he had ruled was shattered into fragments. Four well-defined and important states, however, rose out of the ruins. These were apportioned among four of Alexander's generals. The great horn being broken, for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.* To Seleucus Nicator fell all the countries between the Mediterranean and the Indus; to Lysimachus, Thrace and Asia Minor; to Cassander, Macedonia and Greece; and to Ptolemy, Egypt.

Of the minor states three deserve notice: namely, Pergamus, Pontus, and Greece proper. We must trace very briefly the story of each of these larger and smaller states until they were absorbed one after another by the now rapidly rising empire of Rome.

Thrace.—Thrace was the least important of the four larger states. After the death of Lysimachus, it came under the sway of the sovereigns of Macedonia, and followed very closely the fortunes of that country. It constituted the outpost of European civilization, and its story is but a weary recital of frontier warfare with barbarian tribes.

* Dan. viii. 8.

Macedonia.—Macedonia soon lost the greater part of Greece, and from the position of “mistress of half the world” fell back into the obscurity from which the genius of Philip and Alexander had lifted her. For aiding Carthage during the Punic Wars she incurred the anger of Rome, which resulted, after much intrigue and long wars, in the country being subdued and erected into a Roman province, 148 B.C.

Syria, or the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.).—This kingdom played an important part in the civil history of the world during the three centuries of its existence. The rulers who held sway during this period are called Seleucidæ, from Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the kingdom. Besides being a ruler of unusual ability, Seleucus was a liberal patron of learning and art, being himself a magnificent builder. Throughout his dominions, he founded a vast number of cities, some of which endured for many centuries, and were known far and wide as centres of trade and Hellenic civilization. Upon the Tigris, as a rival to Babylon, he built Seleucia, which grew rapidly into a capital of 600,000 inhabitants, which in its customs, manners, and government was simply a Greek city transplanted from Europe. As Seleucia rose, Babylon sank into obscurity, and soon disappeared from history. Six other cities in different parts of his empire bore the name Seleucia, after himself; sixteen he called Antioch, in honor of his father; five he named Laodicea, for his mother; still others bore the name Apamea, in honor of one of his wives. Antioch, on the Orontes, in Northern Syria, became the capital of the kingdom, and obtained an influence and renown as a centre of population and trade which have given its name a sure place in history. Antioch still remains; but most of the other cities are gone, with scarcely a trace left of their former existence. Thus the site of the great capital Seleucia, on the Tigris, once the rival of Babylon, is now marked by just a few mounds and heaps of rubbish.

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. Antiochus IV. (176-164 B.C.), by the pillage and desecration of the temple at Jerusalem, drove the Jews to revolt, under the lead of the priest Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabæus, which event has already been noticed in the history of the Jewish people. Others kept the kingdom in constant contention with the states of Asia Minor on the west, with the Bactrians and Parthians on the east, and with Egypt on the south. At last, brought into collision with Rome, the country was overrun by Pompey the Great, and became a part of the Roman Republic, 65 B.C.

Kingdom of the Ptolemies in Egypt (323-30 B.C.).—The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of any or all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the house and dynasty was Ptolemy I., surnamed Soter (323-283 B.C.). His descendants ruled in Egypt for nearly three centuries, a period most famous in the intellectual life of the world. Ptolemy was a general under Alexander, and seemed to possess much of his restless energy and breadth of view, with a happy freedom from his great commander's faults.

Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Coelesyria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cyprus. Following the usage of the time, he transported 100,000 Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria, attached them to his person and policies by wise and conciliatory measures, and thus effected at this great capital of the Nile that blending of the races of the East and the West which was the dream of Alexander.

The possession of the forests of Mount Lebanon, and the command of the artisans of Phœnicia, enabled Ptolemy to realize his plans of making Egypt a naval power, and the empo-

rium of the carrying trade between Asia and Europe. Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the productions of the world. But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual centre of the world—the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum, which became the "University of the East." Poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning were encouraged to settle in Alexandria by the conferring of immunities and privileges, and by gifts and munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age. He also established the renowned Alexandrian Library, and built the Pharos, or light-house, which guided the fleets of the world to his capital. The splendid Mausoleum that he raised over the body of Alexander was at once a monument of his taste and of his love for his young commander. Ptolemy also wrote a life of Alexander, small fragments only of which have been preserved; but these sufficiently attest his skill and accuracy as an author.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father, carrying out, as far as possible, the plans and policies of the preceding reign. To secure Egypt's commercial supremacy, the old Pharaonic canal uniting the Nile and the Red Sea was restored, and roads constructed to facilitate the transportation of merchandise from the ports on that sea to the river. Philadelphus added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage as his father before him.

The surname Philadelphus ("loving brother") was given this Ptolemy on account of his tender devotion to his wife Arsinoe, who was also his sister. This usage of intermarriage among the members of the royal family was one of the causes of the contentions and calamities which at last overwhelmed with woes and infamy the house of the Ptolemies.

Ptolemy III. (247-222 B.C.) was called by the Egyptians *Euergetes* (benefactor) because in one of his wars he recaptured and placed again in their temples some statues of the Egyptian gods which the Persian conqueror Cambyses and the Assyrian Sargon had borne away as trophies. He was possessed of great military genius, and under him the dominions of the Ptolemies touched their utmost limits; and the capital Alexandria reached the culminating point in her fame as the centre of Greek civilization.

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323-30 B.C.). Those rulers who held the throne for the last two hundred years were, with few exceptions, a succession of monsters, such as even Rome in her worst days could scarcely equal. These monarchs plunged into the most despicable excesses, and were guilty of every folly and cruelty. The usage of intermarriage, already mentioned, led to endless family quarrels, which resulted in fratricide and matricide, and all the dark deeds known to the calendar of royal crime. The story of the renowned Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, will be told in connection with Roman history, to which it properly belongs.

Pergamus.—This was originally a fragment of the kingdom of Lysimachus, which broke away in revolt, and gradually, through the favor of the Romans, grew into a powerful state which at the time of Eumenes II. (197-159 B.C.) embraced a considerable part of Asia Minor. Its capital, also called Pergamus, became a most noted centre of Greek learning and civilization, and through its famous library and university gained the renown of being, next to Alexandria in Egypt, the greatest city of the Hellenic world. In 133 B.C. Attalus III.; after killing all his heirs, ended a life which was a perfect tissue of follies by bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people, who immediately took steps to secure the prize, and made it into a province under the name of Asia,

Pontus.—Pontus was another kingdom of Asia Minor, which has a place in history on account of the lustre reflected upon it by the transcendent ability of one of its kings, Mithridates the Great. The country was called Pontus (Greek for *sea*) because of its position upon the Euxine. Almost from the time of Homer, Grecian colonies had been spreading Hellenic culture and civilization throughout the region. It was one of the first countries that severed itself from the empire of Alexander.

Mithridates the Great (120–63 B.C.) spread the fame of his little kingdom throughout the world by his able and for a long time successful resistance to the Roman armies. He was strong in body and mind. To secure himself against attempts upon his life, it is said that he inured his system to poisons to such a degree that the most virulent could be taken by him without harm. Pliny tells us that he could speak twenty-two languages, and was thus able to address in their own tongue the subjects of any province of his kingdom. His wars with Rome belong rather to the history of that city than to the annals of Greece. Defeated by Pompey, and plotted against by his own son Pharnaces, in despair he committed suicide (63 B.C.), leaving unrealized his plans for the conquest of the Roman world.

Greece: Achæan and Ætolian Leagues.—The political affairs of Greece proper during the period embraced between the death of Alexander and the conquest of the country by the Romans are chiefly comprehended in the fortunes of two confederacies, or leagues, one of which, called the Achæan League, embraced the greater portion of the states of Peloponnesus; while the other, known as the Ætolian League, comprised the states of Central Greece.

United, these two confederacies might have maintained the political independence of Greece; but that spirit of dissension which we have seen to be the bane of the Hellenic peoples led them to become, in the hands of intriguing Rome, weapons

first for crushing Macedonia, and then for grinding each other to pieces.

Soon after the conquest of Macedonia, the Ætolians were made tributary to Rome. At the same time, a thousand of the leading citizens of the cities of the Achæan League were, on the pretext of their conspiring against Rome, transported to Italy, and for seventeen years kept as political prisoners in different cities in Etruria. At the end of that time the exiles were allowed to return home, the perfidious Romans foreseeing and hoping that their desire for revenge would betray them into some violent act which would afford Rome a pretext for invading and confiscating their territory. All fell out as anticipated. The exiles were no sooner returned to their native land than they stirred up their countrymen to a revolt against Rome. Corinth, which, after the Peloponnesian War had ruined Athens, was the most splendid city of all Greece, was taken by the Roman army and laid in ashes (146 B.C.). This was the last act in the long and varied drama of the political life of ancient Greece. Henceforth it constituted simply a portion of the Roman Empire.

Review.—We have now traced the political fortunes of the Hellenic race through about a millennium of years of authentic history, starting with the earliest constitutions of aristocratical Sparta and republican Athens. We have followed the growth of the Grecian states during the first centuries of their existence, and have watched their memorable struggle with the power of the Persian kings; we have noticed the brilliant era of Athenian supremacy which followed that contest; we have seen the wars and calamities finally brought by the mutual jealousies of the two rival states of Athens and Sparta, not only upon themselves, but upon all Hellas; then, after brief periods of Spartan and Theban supremacy, we have seen Macedonia assuming the leadership of the Greek race, and under an Alexander uniting half the world in a single kingdom, and

spreading Hellenic ideas, institutions, and language from Italy to the regions beyond the Indus ; we have also seen this enormous Macedonian empire, through lack of that capacity to unite for political ends which was the fatal defect of the Greek character, torn into pieces, and these fragments, after more or less varied political fortunes, seized upon one after another by the rapacity of Rome.

In succeeding chapters it will be our pleasanter task to trace the more brilliant and worthy fortunes of the intellectual life of Hellas : to tell how, "captured, she led captive her captor"—how by the spell of her genius and learning she gained sway over the minds of her rough conquerors.



RULERS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

	B.C.
Seleucus Nicator, founder of the kingdom.....	312-281
Antiochus I.....	281-261
Antiochus II.....	261-246
Seleucus II.....	246-226
Seleucus III.....	226-223
Antiochus III.....	223-187
Seleucus IV.....	187-176
Antiochus IV. (revolt of Jews under Judas Maccabæus).....	176-164
Antiochus V.....	164-162
Several obscure names.....	162-69
Antiochus VIII., last of the Seleucidæ.....	69-65

RULERS OF THE GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN KINGDOM OF THE
PTOLEMIES.

	B.C.
Ptolemy I. Soter.....	323-283
Ptolemy II. Philadelphus.....	283-247
Ptolemy III. Euergetes.....	247-222
Ptolemy IV.....	222-205
Ptolemy V.....	205-181
Ptolemy VI.....	181-146
Several obscure names.....	146-51
Cleopatra, last of the line.....	51-30
Egypt becomes a province of the Roman Empire.....	30

CHAPTER XX.

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.

Cosmography of the Greeks.—A study of the religion of the Greeks must be preceded by some slight knowledge, at least, of their cosmography, or ideas of the figure and relation of the different parts of the universe.

They supposed the earth to be, as it appeared, a plane, round in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, beyond which on all sides lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. From this encircling ocean stream, all the rivers and seas of the earth drew their waters. The heavens were a solid vault or dome, whose edges shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was Hades, a vast region, the realm of departed shades. Still beneath this was Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron. This awful prison-house of the gods was as far beneath the earth as the heavens were above; and of the latter distance we are left to conjecture from the fact that when Jupiter, in a fit of anger, hurled Hephæstus from the heavens to earth, he fell "from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve." Sometimes the poets seem to represent the gloomy regions beyond the ocean stream as the cheerless abode of the dead.

The sun was an archer-god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Awaiting the god in the west, on the ocean stream, was a winged couch, in which he sank to rest while gentle winds wafted the golden vessel over the waters round to the east, where a new chariot and fresh steeds awaited him. Naturally it was imagined that the regions

in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of delight and plenty. The eastern was the favored country of the Ethiopians, a land which even Jupiter himself so loved to visit that often he was found absent from Olympus when sought by suppliants. The western region, adjoining the ocean stream, was the delightful Garden of the Hesperides. Here, too, were the Islands of the Blest, the abodes of the departed shades of heroes and poets.

The Olympian Council.—There were twelve members of the celestial council, six gods and as many goddesses. These were Jupiter, the father of gods and men ; Neptune, the ruler of the sea ; Apollo, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy ; Mars, the god of war ; Vulcan, the god of fire and the patron of the useful arts ; Mercury, the patron of eloquence and herald of the celestials ; Juno, the queen of Jupiter ; Minerva, the promoter of science and civilization ; Diana, the goddess of the chase ; Venus, of love and beauty ; Vesta, of the hearth ; Ceres, of grains and harvests.

Lesser Deities and Monsters.—Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither human nor divine. Pluto ruled over the lower realms ; Bacchus was the god of wine ; Cupid, of love ; Iris, of the rainbow ; Hebe was the cupbearer of the celestials ; Nemesis was the avenger of crime ; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. Three Fates allotted life and death. The Nereids were nymphs of the sea, with bodies half human and half fish, the daughters of Neptune. The Harpies were terrible monsters with female faces and the body and claws of birds. They were sisters, three in number, and lived on the Strophades, in the

Ionian Sea. They tore and devoured their prey with greedy voracity. The Gorgons were also three sisters, with hair entwined with serpents. A single gaze upon them chilled the beholder to stone. The Chimæra was a monster with "the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, and vomited forth fire." (From this impossible monster we have come to call any improbable thing a "chimera.") Besides these there were the Dragon, which guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides; Scylla and Charybdis, sea-monsters that made perilous the passage of the Sicilian Straits; the Centaurs, the Sphinxes, and a thousand others.

Explanations of the Mythological Monsters.—Many at least of these monsters were simply personifications of the malign and destructive powers of nature. Thus the Harpies were the swift storms that tear to pieces and engulf the vessel of the mariner; the Gorgons were also tempests that lash the sea into a fury that paralyzes the affrighted sailor; the Chimæra was a volcano in Lycia, whose foot and slopes abounded in different animals. (The Chimæra flame is still seen issuing from a mountain opposite Olympus); Scylla and Charybdis were dangerous whirlpools off the coast of Sicily.

The fact that these monsters were merely personifications of the evil and terrifying powers or aspects of nature was, indeed, forgotten or not understood at all by the common people; and they believed them to be real creatures, with all the parts and habits given them by the poets—and often the poets themselves seemed possessed of the same idea.

Nature of the Gods.—The great gods and goddesses were simply magnified human beings, possessing all their virtues, and often their weaknesses. They gave way to fits of anger and jealousy. "Jupiter deceives, and Juno is constantly practising her wiles." All the celestial council, at the sight of Vulcan limping across the palace floor, burst into "inextin-

guishable laughter ;" and Venus, weeping, moves all to tears. They surpass mortals rather in power than in size of body. They can render themselves visible or invisible to human eyes. Their food is ambrosia and nectar ; their movements are swift as light. They may suffer pain ; but death can never come to them, for they are immortal. Their abode is Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

Modes of Divine Communication.—In the early ages the gods were believed to often visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this familiar intercourse was a thing of the past—a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. Their forms were no longer seen nor their voices heard. In these later and more degenerate times the recognized modes of divine communication with men were by oracles, and by casual and unusual sights and sounds, as thunder and lightning, a sudden tempest, an eclipse, a flight of birds, or any strange coincidence.

Grecian Oracles.—All peoples and races have believed that their gods have a knowledge of the future, and that they are able and willing to reveal these secrets to men. The Greeks thought that futurities were made known by Zeus or Jupiter, and especially by Apollo, who was the god of prophecy, the revealer. Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These favored spots were called oracles, as were also the responses there received. There were twenty-two oracles of Apollo in different parts of the Grecian world, but a much smaller number of those of Jupiter. These were usually located in wild and desolate spots—in dark forests or among gloomy mountains. The most famous of the oracles were the one at Dodona, in Epirus, and that at Delphi, in Phocis. At Dodona the priests listened in the dark forests for the voice of Zeus in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak. At Delphi

there was a deep fissure in the ground, which emitted stupefying vapors, that were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over the spot was erected a splendid temple, in honor of the oracle. The revelation was received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed over the orifice. As she became overpowered by the influence of the prophetic exhalations, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia—perhaps hysterical and half unconscious, yet probably bearing upon the matter with which her mind must have been impressed—were taken down by attendant priests, interpreted, and written in hexameter verse. Sometimes the will of Zeus was communicated to the pious seeker by dreams and visions granted while sleeping in the temple of the oracle.

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world: it was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in time of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

We have already noticed the ambiguous or double meaning of many of the responses of the oracles. That their credit might not be impaired, the responses were usually delivered in such a way that they would correspond with the event, however affairs might turn. Cræsus is told that, if he undertake his expedition against Persia, he will destroy a great empire. He did, but the empire was his own. The Athenians are commanded to seek safety behind the "wooden walls." From among the forests, the palisades, and the ships, they chose for refuge their fleet; and through the happy turn of events the Delphian oracle received unbounded credit and honor from the grateful Athenians.

Oracles owed their origin to superstition, and their perpetuation to deceit and fraud. Politicians secured by bribes such responses as would further their designs. As the world advanced in knowledge, the belief in supernatural communi-

cations was weakened, and the influence of the oracles gradually declined. In Cicero's day they were in ill-repute ; but they still continued to be consulted until the fourth century after Christ.

Ideas of the Future.—To the Greeks life was so bright and joyous a thing that they looked upon death as a great calamity. They therefore pictured life after death, except in the case of a favored few, as being hopeless and aimless. The Elysian Fields, away in the land of sunset, were, indeed, filled with every delight ; but this was the abode only of the great heroes and benefactors of the race. The great mass of mankind were doomed to Hades, where the spirit existed as “a feeble, joyless phantom.” While we believe that the soul, freed from the body by the event of death, becomes more active and strong, the Greeks thought that without the body it became but a feeble image of its former self. So long as the body remained unburied, the shade wandered restless in Hades ; hence the sacredness of the rites of sepulture.

The Sacred Games.—The celebrated games of the Greeks had their origin in the belief of their Aryan ancestors that the departed shades were gratified or appeased by such spectacles as delighted them during their earthly life. During the Heroic Age these festivals were simply sacrifices or games performed at the tomb or about the pyre of the dead. Gradually these grew into religious festivals observed by an entire city or community, and were celebrated near the oracle or shrine of the god in whose honor they were instituted. By the sixth century B.C. they had lost their local and assumed a national character. Among these festivals, four acquired a world-wide celebrity. These were the Olympian, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Olympia, in Peloponnesus ; the Pythian, in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi ; the Nemean, also in honor of the god of prophecy, at Nemea ; and the

Isthmian, held in honor of Neptune, on the narrow isthmus of Corinth.

The Olympian Games.—Of these four national festivals the Olympian secured the greatest renown. In 776 B.C. Koræbus was victor in the foot-race at Olympia, an event so important in the estimation of the Greeks that they reckoned dates from it, making that year the starting-point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad. The date of an occurrence was given by saying that it happened in the first, second, third, or fourth year of such an Olympiad—the first, second, or third, etc.

The contests consisted of foot-races, boxing, wrestling, and other athletic games. Later, chariot-racing was introduced and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone ten months' training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded the festivals. The deputies of the different states vied with one another in the richness and splendor of their chariots and equipments, and in the magnificence of their retinues.

The victor was crowned with a garland of wild olives; heralds proclaimed abroad his name; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; his statues, executed by famous artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; sometimes even divine honor and worship were accorded to him; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating the name and deeds of him who had reflected undying honor upon his native state.

Influence of the Grecian Games.—For about one thousand years, from the sixth century B.C. until the Olympian games were abolished by the Roman emperor Theodosius, A.D. 396,

these national festivals exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, excepting the Olympian, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind. To this fact we owe some of the grandest productions of the Greek race.

They moreover promoted intercourse and trade; for the festivals naturally became great centres of traffic and exchange during the continuance of the games. They softened the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war; for during the month in which the Olympian games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions. We have already seen how the Spartans, rather than violate this "truce of God" by marching during the festival days, allowed the Athenians to gather all the honors of Marathon, and left Leonidas unsupported at the fatal Pass of Thermopylæ.

They also promoted intercourse between the different Grecian cities and states, and kept alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a common political union, still they did impress a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.

The Amphietyonic Council.—The Amphietyonic Council was a league or association of twelve tribes, whose main object was the protection of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. This was one of the first steps taken in the sci-

ence of international law. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."

The First Sacred War was a crusade of ten years carried on by the Amphictyons against the city of Cirrha, because of insults and extortions which the inhabitants of that place had been guilty of towards pilgrims to the Delphian shrine. The city was finally taken, levelled to the ground, and the wrath of the gods invoked upon any one who should dare rebuild it. This contest occurred in the first part of the sixth century B.C. (595-585).

Hospitality among the Ancient Greeks.—The city community was the real world of the ancient Greek. His sense of duty and obligation was bounded by the walls of his native city, with just the slightest feeling of obligation to all others of his own race and religion. Towards those of a different race and language he felt no duties imposed by either law or morals. He called all such *Barbarians*—"unintelligible folk;" and their cities might be plundered, the men slain, and the women and children sold into slavery, without any violation of his sense of right and justice.

Among a people entertaining such views respecting foreigners, we should hardly look for the virtue of hospitality extending its helpful courtesies to those of an alien race or faith. Yet the Greeks were a hospitable people. This virtue was fostered through the following circumstances. There were no public inns in those times, hence a sort of gentle necessity forced to the entertainment of wayfarers. The hospitality ac-

corded was the same free and impulsive welcome that the Arab sheik of to-day extends to the traveller whom chance brings to his tent. The belief, too, that the gods sometimes visited the earth in the guise of men also prompted, in early times, to the kindly reception of strangers, since thereby angels might haply be entertained unawares. The very best the house afforded was set before the wayfarer, and not till he had refreshed himself was he asked as to his journey and its object. When thus by chance a person, even though of another race, became the guest of a Greek, this circumstance made him, as it were, a kinsman, and henceforth a new relation subsisted between those thus casually brought together. One seeking a favor of another might claim that their ancestors had broken bread together, and the appeal was sacred, and seldom made in vain.

At Athens there was an officer called *proxene*, whose duty it was to entertain strangers in behalf of the city.

The Suppliant.—Him who hardened his heart against the appeal of a suppliant the Furies pursued with undying vengeance. But only through certain formalities could one avail himself of the rights of a suppliant. Should one, upon the commission of a crime, flee to the temple, he became a suppliant of the god to whose altar he clung, and to harm him there was a most awful desecration of the shrine. The gods punished with dreadful severity such impiety, and an inexpiable curse rested upon the house of the offender.

To sit or kneel at the hearth of an enemy was a most solemn form of supplication. When Themistocles, fleeing his country, sought an asylum in Epirus with his former enemy, King Admetus, the queen of the latter, pitying the great man's misfortunes, secured for him a kindly reception by seating him at the palace hearth, and placing in his arms the little prince, the son of Admetus—a very solemn and sacred form of appeal among that people. An olive branch borne in the hand was still an-

other form of supplication, which rendered sacred and inviolable the person of him who thus appealed for clemency.

Humanity of the Greeks.—In the Heroic Age, the life of an enemy was never spared, unless for the object of securing a ransom or for servitude. A prisoner was considered the absolute property of his captor, who could put him to death, sell him into slavery, or yield him up for a ransom. Usually upon the capture of a city the men were slain, and the women and children sold into slavery. But these things do not necessarily evince an essentially cruel or degraded disposition; they simply show that the Greeks, while so far surpassing all their contemporaries in art, science, and philosophy, did not, in the matter of humanity and morals, rise above the low standard of feelings and sentiments that characterized their age. They, however, respected the body too much to subject it to those terrible mutilations which we have seen were so common among the Asiatics—the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Persians.

And mild and humane were the Greeks as compared with the rude and unfeeling Romans. The different character of their games and amusements attests this. The cruel gladiatorial contests never became, even after the Roman conquest, popular among the Hellenes. When it was proposed to introduce these shows at Athens, a patriotic Athenian vehemently denounced the innovation: "First throw down," said he, "the altars erected above a thousand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy."



CHAPTER XXI.

GRECIAN ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING.

Pelasgian Architecture.—The term Pelasgian is applied to various structures of massive masonry—walls, tombs, and subterranean aqueducts—found in different parts of Greece, Italy, and Asia Minor. The origin of these works was a mystery to the earliest Hellenes, who ascribed them to the giant Cyclops; hence the name Cyclopean which also attaches to them. These works exhibit three well-defined stages of development. In the earliest and rudest structures the stones are gigantic in size and untouched by the chisel; in the next oldest the stones are worked into irregular polygonal blocks; while in the latest the blocks are cut into rectangular shapes and laid in regular courses. The walls of the old citadels or castles of several Grecian cities exhibit specimens of this primitive architecture. The celebrated Treasury of Atreus, a subterranean vaulted structure (perhaps tomb) at Mycenæ, is a noted example of the latest form of Pelasgian art.

Grecian Temples.—The first homes of the gods were, like the primitive abodes of men, simply such as nature afforded. Among the Egyptians, caves were probably the earliest temples; among the Greeks, the statues of the gods were first placed beneath the shelter of a tree, or within its hollow trunk. After a time a building, rudely constructed of the trunks of trees, and shaped like the habitation of men, marked the first step in advance. Then stone took the place of the wooden frame. With the introduction of a durable material, the artist was encouraged to expend more labor and care upon his work.

Thus architecture began to make rapid strides, and by the century following the age of Solon at Athens there were many beautiful temples in different parts of the Hellenic world.

Orders of Architecture.—Before speaking of the most noted temples of Hellas, we must first name the three styles, or orders, of Grecian architecture. These are the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian. They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and ornamentation of the columns. The Doric column is without a base, and has a simple and massive capital; the Ionic is characterized by the spiral volutes of the capital; the Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. It is said that this form was suggested to the artist Callimachus by the pretty picture presented by a basket surrounded by the leaves of an acanthus plant upon which it had been set by accident. The entire building was made to harmonize with the supporting columns. The characteristics of the several orders are well portrayed by the terms we use when we speak of the “stern” Doric, the “graceful” Ionic, and the “ornate” Corinthian.

Temple of Diana at Ephesus.—The Temple of Diana at Ephesus was one of the oldest, as well as one of the most famous, of the sacred edifices of the Greeks. It was commenced about the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and was two hundred and twenty years in building. It was known far and wide as one of the Seven Wonders of the world. Cræsus gave liberally of his wealth to ornament the shrine. It was decorated with one hundred and twenty-seven Ionic columns, each, according to Pliny, the gift of a king. In 356 B.C., on the same night, it is said, that Alexander was born, an ambitious youth named Herostratus fired the building, simply to immortalize his name. The roof of the structure was of cedar, and this, probably, was the only part destroyed. It was restored with even greater

splendor than at first. Alexander coveted the honor of rebuilding the temple, and proposed to the Ephesians to do so, provided he should be allowed to inscribe his name upon it. The Ephesians gracefully rejected the proposal by replying that it was not right for one deity to erect a temple to another. Alexander was obliged to content himself with placing within the shrine his own portrait by Apelles—a piece of work which cost \$300,000. The value of the gifts to the temple was beyond all calculation: kings and states vied with one another in splendid donations. Painters and sculptors were eager to have their masterpieces assigned a place within its walls, so that it became a great national gallery of paintings and statuary.

So inviolable was the sanctity of the temple that in times of tumult and danger property and treasures were carried to it as a safe repository. But the riches of the sanctuary proved too great a temptation to the Roman emperor Nero. He risked incurring the anger of the great Diana, and robbed the temple of many statues and a vast amount of gold. Later, the barbarian Goths enriched themselves with the spoils of the shrine. The temple itself fared but little better than the treasures it guarded. Some of the famous jasper columns were, by order of the emperor Justinian, carried to Byzantium, and now uphold the dome of St. Sophia, once the most noted church, now the most famous mosque, in all the East. Some of the columns were also taken to Italy and built into Christian churches there.

The Delphian Temple.—The first temple erected at Delphi over the spot whence issued the mysterious vapors was a rude wooden structure. In the year 548 B.C., the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding. Even the king of Egypt, Amasis, sent a munificent gift. More than half a million of dollars was collected; for the temple was to exceed in magnificence anything the world had yet seen. The Alkemeonidæ, an influential family that had been exiled from Athens, contracted with

the Amphictyons to erect the building. They performed the work in the most honorable manner, even going so far beyond the terms of the contract as to use Parian marble where only rough stone was specified.

The structure was impressive both in its colossal size and the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art. Like the temple at Ephesus, the Delphian shrine, after remaining for many years secure through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, suffered frequent spoliation. The greed of conquerors overcame all religious scruples. The Phocians robbed the temple of more than \$10,000,000 of treasure; and Nero plundered it of five hundred bronze images. But Constantine was the Nebuchadnezzar who bore off the sacred vessels and many statues as trophies to his new capital then rising on the Hellespont.

The Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon.—In the history of art there is no other spot in the world possessed of such interest as the flat-topped rock, already described, which constituted the Athenian Acropolis. We have seen that in early times the eminence was used as a stronghold. But by the fifth century B.C. the city had slipped down upon the plain, and the summit of the rock was consecrated to the temples and the worship of the gods. During the period of Athenian supremacy, especially in the Periclean Age, Hellenic genius and piety adorned this spot with temples and statues which all the world has pronounced to be faultless specimens of beauty and taste.

The most celebrated of the buildings upon the Acropolis was the Parthenon, the "Residence of the virgin-goddess Minerva." This is considered the finest specimen of Greek art. It was built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a Pagan temple, a Chris-

tian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder-magazine, in a war with the Venetians, in 1687. During the progress of this contest a bomb fired the magazine, and more than half of this masterpiece of ancient art was shattered into fragments. The front is still quite perfect, and is the most prominent feature of the Acropolis at the present time.

The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.—This structure was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. It was a monumental tomb designed to preserve the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 352 B.C. Its erection was prompted by the love and grief of his wife Artemisia. The combined genius of the most noted artists of the age executed the wish of the queen. From a base about one hundred feet square the monument rose to a height of one hundred and forty feet. Its sides were decorated with a multitude of statues and figures in relief; while surmounting the monument was the statue of Mausolus, standing in a marble chariot drawn by four horses.

The only remains of the Mausoleum are some fragments of sculpture preserved in the British Museum. These assure us that the admiration of the ancients was not accorded to this work without sufficient reason. It is the traditions of this beautiful structure that have given the world a name for all magnificent monuments raised to perpetuate the memory of the dead.

Grecian Sculpture and Painting.

Progress in the Art of Sculpture.—The subjects of the Grecian artists were usually taken from the sacred myths and legends. Wood was the material first employed. About the eighth century B.C. bronze and marble were generally substituted for the less durable material. With this change sculpture began to make rapid progress. Another circumstance aided the development of the art. It became usual to commemorate victories at the national games by statues of the

victor. Now, in representing the figures of the gods, it was thought impious to change a single line or lineament of the conventional form ; and thus a certain Egyptian rigidity was imparted to all the productions of the artist. Any change subjected him to the charge of sacrilege. But in the representation of the forms of mere men, the sculptor was bound by no conventionalism, but was free to exercise his skill and genius in handling his subject. Progress and improvement now became possible.

As the sacred buildings increased in number and costliness, the services of the artist were called into requisition for their adornment. At first the temple held only the statue of the god ; but after a time it became, as we have already seen, a sort of national museum—a repository of the artistic treasures of the state. The entablature, the pediment, the intercolumniations of the buildings, and every niche of the interior of the shrine, as well as the surrounding grounds and groves, were peopled with statues and groups of figures, executed by the most renowned artists, and representing the national deities, the legendary heroes, victors at the public games, or incidents in the life of the state in which piety saw the special interposition of the god in whose honor the shrine had been reared.

Phidias.—Among all the great sculptors of antiquity, Phidias stands pre-eminent. He was an Athenian, and was born about 488 B.C. He delighted in the beautiful myths and legends of the Heroic Age, and from these he drew subjects for his art. Being an architect as well as sculptor, his patron Pericles gave into his hands the superintendence of those magnificent buildings with which he persuaded the Athenians to adorn their city. To his genius we owe the faultless perfection of the Parthenon.

The most celebrated of his sculptures were the statue of Athênē within the Parthenon, and that of Olympian Jove in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athênē was of colossal

size, being about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the drapery being of the latter material. In one hand the goddess brandished a spear, while the other held aloft an ivory statue of Victory, itself a masterpiece. On her feet were golden sandals.

The statue of Olympian Jove was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high, and represented the god seated on his throne. The hair, beard, and drapery were of gold. The eyes were brilliant stones. Gems of great value decked the throne, and figures of exquisite design were sculptured on the golden robe. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the Olympian Zeus.*

Phidias also executed other works in both bronze and marble. He met an unworthy fate. Upon the famous shield at the feet of the statue of Athēnē in the Parthenon, among the figures in the representation of a battle between the Athenians and the Amazons, Phidias introduced a portrait of himself and also of his patron Pericles. That of himself was the figure of a "bald old man" just in the act of hurling a huge rock. The enemies of the artist, prompted by jealousy, caused him to be prosecuted for his presumption, which was considered an act of sacrilege. He died in prison.

Praxiteles.—This artist stands next to Phidias as one of the

* "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the 'Iliad' in the passage thus translated by Pope:

'He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the centre shook.'

Bulfinch's "Age of Fable," p. 404.

most eminent of Greek sculptors. His works were executed during the fourth century B.C. Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the "Cnidian Venus," the "Faun," "Cupid," and "Apollo." The first of these, which stood in the Temple of Venus at Cnidus, was regarded by the ancients as the most perfect embodiment of the goddess of beauty. Long pilgrimages were made from distant countries to Cnidus for the sake of looking upon the famous statue. Many copies were set up in different cities. About a century ago, excavations at Rome brought to light a beautiful statue, supposed to be a copy of the original Cnidian Venus, by Cleomenes, who lived during the first or second century B.C. This is the famous Venus de' Medici, copies of which are in all our homes. The name comes from the circumstance of the statue having been kept for some time after its discovery in the palace of the Medici at Rome.

Lysippus.—This artist is renowned for his works in bronze. He lived about 325 B.C. His statues were in great demand. More than six hundred pieces of his work were to be counted in the different cities of Hellas. Many of these were of colossal size. Alexander gave the artist many orders for statues of himself, and also of the heroes that fell in his campaigns.

Chares and the Rhodian Colossus.—Lysippus, like all men of great genius in any art or science, had many disciples and left many imitators. The most noted of his pupils was Chares, who gave the world the celebrated Colossus at Rhodes. This was another of the Seven Wonders of the World. Its height was over one hundred feet, and a man could barely encircle with his arms the thumb of the statue. The expense of its erection (\$300,000) was met by the sale of spoils obtained by the Rhodians in war. After standing little more than a half-century, it was overthrown by an earthquake. For nine hundred years the Colossus then lay, like a Homeric god, prone upon the

ground. Finally, the Arabs, having overrun this part of the Orient (A.D. 672), appropriated the statue, and thriftily sold it to a Jewish merchant. It is said that it required a train of nine hundred camels to bear away the brass.

This gigantic piece of statuary was not a solitary one at Rhodes ; for that city was, next after Athens, the great art centre of the Grecian world. Its streets and gardens and public edifices were literally crowded with statues. Hundreds met the eye on every hand. The island became the favorite resort of artists, and the various schools there founded acquired a wide renown. Very many of the most prized works of Grecian art in our modern museums were executed by members of these Rhodian schools. The "Laocoön Group," found at Rome in 1506, and now in the Museum of the Vatican, is generally thought to be the work of three Rhodian sculptors—Agesander, Athenodorus, and Polydorus. The order for the work was probably given by the Roman emperor Titus (A.D. 40–81), as the group adorned the baths at Rome which bore his name.

Apelles.—This artist was such a master of the art of painting, and carried it to such a state of perfection, that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "art of Apelles." His most famous painting was a representation of Venus just at the moment the goddess is rising from the sea-foam. Centuries after the death of Apelles this painting was carried off to Italy by the Roman conquerors, and for a time adorned a temple at Rome erected in honor of Julius Cæsar.

Two well-worn stories illustrative of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries are told of Apelles. Entering one day the studio of the artist Protogenes, and finding him absent, instead of leaving his name he drew, with his own inimitable grace, a single line upon a canvas, and then withdrew. When Protogenes returned, and his eye caught the line, he exclaimed that no hand but Apelles's ever drew such a stroke.

But in attempting to imitate it he perceived that he had himself surpassed it; and, with a natural pride in his success, he instructed his servant, upon the return of the stranger, to direct his attention to the line. Calling a second time, Apelles was shown what his rival had done. Thereupon he drew a third line that far surpassed either of the other two. Upon beholding it, Protogenes rushed forth into the city in search of Apelles, for whom he ever after evinced the warmest friendship, combined with the greatest admiration.

The second tale is told respecting a contest between Apelles and some rival artists, in which horses were the objects represented. Perceiving that the judges were unfriendly to him and partial, Apelles insisted that less prejudiced judges should pronounce upon the merit of the respective pieces, demanding, at the same time, that they be shown to some horses that were near. When brought before the pictures of his rival, the horses exhibited no concern; but upon being shown the painting of Apelles they manifested by neighing and other intelligent signs their instant recognition of the companions the great master had created.

Polygnotus.—Polygnotus has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. Of a Polyxena (daughter of Priam, famous for her beauty and suffering) painted by this great master it was said that "she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War." Polygnotus employed his genius in decorating the temples of Greece; but in some instances at least, like Zeuxis, he refused compensation for his services. All the wonderful effects of his pictures are said to have been secured by the use of four colors. Cimon, at Athens, was the patron of the artist. "One of his paintings was preserved at Rome, representing a man on a scaling-ladder, with a target in his hand, so contrived that it was impossible to tell whether he was going upward or descending."

Zeuxis and Parrhasius.—These great artists lived and painted about 400 B.C. A favorite and familiar story preserves their names as companions, and commemorates their rival genius. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed," generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival. "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

Zeuxis executed orders for paintings for sacred buildings in Greece and Italy, for his fame was not confined to a single land. In his latter years he refused all remuneration for his pieces, esteeming them beyond price in money. A very improbable story is told of his having "died with laughter at a picture of an old woman which he himself had painted."



CHAPTER XXII.

GREEK LITERATURE.

IN literature the Greeks far surpassed every other people of antiquity. The degree of excellence attained by them in poetry, in oratory, and in history has scarcely been surpassed by any modern people or race. Here, as in art, they are still the teachers of the world.

Homer and the "Iliad."—So remote is the age in which Homer is said to have lived, and so confused are the traditions of his life, that many have doubted if ever there were a Homer. Such critics teach that the poems which bear his name were really the work of many hands. But the recent wonderful discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ, although furnishing little or no direct and positive evidence on this point, still have assured us that the events commemorated by the Homeric poems had, doubtless, a solid basis in fact; and this has strengthened the belief that the Homer of tradition was a real historical personage.

We may believe that Homer lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C.—two centuries after the Trojan War. He was probably a native of Asia Minor, though many cities contended for the honor of having been his birthplace. He travelled widely, lost his sight, and then, like a Troubadour of the Middle Ages, as a wandering minstrel, sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas. The two great poems that are almost universally ascribed to him are the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." The subject of the "Iliad" is the wrath of Achilles and the woes it brought upon the Greeks

who pressed the siege of Troy. The "Odyssey" tells of the long wanderings of the hero Ulysses up and down over many waters while seeking his native Ithaca, after the downfall of Ilios.

The first poem must be pronounced "the masterpiece of Greek literature, perhaps of all literatures." Before being committed to writing, it had probably been preserved and transmitted orally for several generations. It has been translated into all languages, and has been read with an ever fresh interest by generation after generation for nearly three thousand years. Alexander slept with a copy beneath his pillow—a copy prepared especially for him by his preceptor Aristotle, and called the "casket edition," from the jewelled box in which he kept it. We preserve it quite as sacredly in all our courses of classical study.

The age in which the poem was written has been called the Childhood of the World. The work is characterized by the freshness and vitality of youth. It exerted an incalculable influence upon the literary and religious life of the Hellenic race. It has made warriors as well as poets, for many of its passages are instinct with the martial spirit. It incited the military ambition of Alexander, of Hannibal, and of Cæsar; it inspired Virgil, Dante, and Milton. All epic writers have taken lessons of the blind master.

Hesiod and Pindar.—Hesiod, who lived two or three centuries after Homer, was the poet of nature. His two chief poems are "Works and Days" and "Theogony." Pindar was the greatest of lyric poets. He was born at Thebes 522 B.C., but spent most of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. Such was the reverence in which his memory was held that when Alexander, two hundred years after Pindar's time, levelled the city of Thebes to the ground on account of a revolt, the house of the poet was spared, and left standing amid the general ruin. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes

of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympian chariot-races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian or Pythian games.

In connection with Pindar must be mentioned the names of Alcæus, Sappho, and Anacreon, who stand next after Pindar in the list of the great lyric poets of Greece. The last was contemporary with the Theban poet, while Alcæus and Sappho sang one or two centuries before his day. No higher praise of Alcæus is needed than mention of the fact that the Italian Horace was so pleased with his verses that he borrowed sometimes entire odes from the Grecian bard. Respecting the poetess Sappho the Greeks told many romantic but probably mythical tales. Although her fame endures, her poetry, save an ode or two, has perished. Anacreon sang so voluptuously of love and wine and festivity that the term Anacreontic has come to characterize all poetry that is over-redolent of these themes.

The Greek Drama and Dramatists.—The Greeks loved the drama. They would sit in the theatre under the open sky the entire day through, listening to piece after piece composed by their favorite poets. Large appropriations were made by the State to defray the expenses of the choruses. A writer often became an actor and assisted in the presentation of his own works.

The great dramatists wrote during the splendid period which followed the victories of the Persian War, when the intellectual life of all Hellas, and especially that of Athens, was strung to the highest tension. This lent power and intensity to all the productions of the time. There are three great names in Greek tragedy—Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Of this famous trio, it is to Æschylus, perhaps, that we should accord the crown of pre-eminence. Yet they all portrayed with a power and genius never surpassed the drama of human life.

Æschylus was more than Shakespearian in the gloom and intensity of his tragedies. He knew how to touch the hearts of

the generation that had won the victories of the Persian War ; for he had fought with honor at Marathon, Salamis, and Plateæ. But it was on a very different arena that he was destined to win his most enduring fame. Eleven times did he carry off the prize in tragic composition. The Athenians called him the "Father of Tragedy." "Prometheus Bound" is one of his chief works. In punishment for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, Prometheus is chained by Zeus to a lonely cliff on the Scythian shores of the Euxine, and an eagle is sent to feed upon his liver, which each night grows as much as torn away during the day. The poet is painting the tragedy and mystery of life. "It is strength and decision of character struggling against injustice and adversity."

Foremost among all the Grecian writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450-380 B.C.). Four of his most noted works are the "Clouds," the "Knights," the "Birds," and the "Wasps." In the comedy of the "Clouds" are ridiculed the speculations of Socrates. The marked peculiarities of the philosopher, and the well-known subtle character of many of his abstractions, gave point to the thrusts of the play. The aim of the "Knights" was the punishment and ruin of Cleon, one of the most conceited and insolent of the demagogues of Athens. The play of the "Birds" turned into ridicule, with the object of discouraging the measures, certain political designs of the Athenians in the prosecution of which the poet saw public loss or danger. In the "Wasps" the poet satirizes those persons, a numerous class at Athens, who were forever engaged in litigation.

But Aristophanes was something more than a master of mere mirth-provoking satire and ridicule: along with his exquisite sense of the humorous he possessed a nature most delicately sensitive to the finer emotions. Many of the choruses of his pieces are inexpressibly tender and beautiful.

History and Historians.

Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until several centuries after the composition of the Homeric poems—that is, about the sixth century B.C.—that prose-writing appeared among the Greeks. Historical composition was then first cultivated. We can speak briefly of only three historians—Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon—whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued and carefully studied by ourselves.

Herodotus.—Herodotus, born 484 B.C. at Halicarnassus, in Asia Minor, is called the “Father of History.” He travelled over much of the then known world; visited Italy, Egypt, and Babylonia; and describes as an eye-witness, with a never-failing vivacity and freshness, the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the tales of antiquity—stories of men and events which we never tire of repeating. He was over-credulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. He wrote a narrative of the Persian War, and in the pictures which he draws we see vividly contrasted, as in no other writings, the East and the West, Persian and Grecian character and life.

Thucydides.—Thucydides, though not so popular, was a much more philosophical historian than Herodotus. He was born near Athens, 471 B.C. A pretty story is told of his youth, which must be repeated, though critics have pronounced it fabulous. The tale is that Thucydides, when only fifteen, was taken by his father to hear Herodotus recite his history at the Olympian games, and that the reading and the accompanying

applause caused the boy to shed tears and to resolve to become an historian.

Thucydides was engaged in military service during the first years of the Peloponnesian War ; but, on account of his being unfortunate in the conduct of affairs in Thrace, the Athenians very unjustly sent him into an exile of twenty years. It is to this circumstance that we are indebted for his invaluable "History of the War between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians." He died before the task was completed. The work is considered a model of historical writing. In fairness, truthfulness, clearness, and philosophical insight, Thucydides has never been surpassed as a narrator and interpreter of events. Demosthenes read and re-read his writings to improve his own style ; and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the works of the great Athenian.

Xenophon (445-355 B.C.).—Xenophon was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his "Anabasis," a simple yet thrilling narrative of the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks ; and his "Memorabilia," or Recollections of Socrates. This work by his devoted yet by no means brilliant pupil is the most faithful portraiture that we possess of that famous philosopher.

Oratory.

Influence of the Public Assembly.—The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the democratic character of their institutions. In the public assemblies all questions that concerned the State were discussed and decided. The debates, as we have seen, were open to all. The gift of eloquence gained for its possessor a sure pre-eminence and conferred a certain leadership. Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection at-

tained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion. "It was the prevalence of the habit of public speaking," says Grote, "that was one of the principal causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally."

Themistocles and Pericles.—We have already become acquainted with Themistocles and Pericles as statesmen and leaders of Athenian affairs during the most stirring period of Athens's history. They both were also great orators, and to that fact were largely, if not chiefly, indebted for their power and influence. Thucydides has preserved the oration delivered by Pericles in commemoration of those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War. This has been pronounced one of the finest productions of antiquity. The language of the address as we have it is the historian's, but the sentiments are doubtless those of the great statesman. It was the habit of Thucydides to put speeches into the mouths of his characters.

Demosthenes and Æschines.—It has been the fortune of Demosthenes to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence. The labors and struggles by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides of the path to success. His first address before the public assembly was a complete failure, owing to defects of voice and manner. With indomitable will he set himself to the task of correcting these. He shut himself up in a cave, and gave himself to the diligent study of Thucydides. That he might not be tempted to spend his time in society, he rendered his appearance ridiculous by shaving one side of his head. To correct a stammering utterance, he spoke with pebbles in his mouth, and broke himself of an ungainly habit of shrugging his shoulders by speaking beneath a suspended sword. To accustom himself to the tumult and interruptions of the public assembly, he declaimed upon the noisiest sea-shore.

These are some of the many stories told of the world's greatest orator. There is doubtless this much truth in them at least—that Demosthenes attained success, in spite of great discouragements, by persevering and laborious effort. More than sixty of his orations have been preserved. “Of all human productions,” says Hume, “they present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection.”

Demosthenes lived at just the time (he was born in the year 385 B.C.) when Philip of Macedon was pursuing his crafty and ambitious policy of aggression towards the Grecian states. Rightly interpreting the designs of the king, Demosthenes strove to awaken the Athenians to a sense of their danger. The orations (called “Philippics”) which he delivered against Philip are eminent specimens of hot and vehement invective.

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the State, the Athenians proposed to award to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines opposed this. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered in the Agora, to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes made the grandest effort of his life. His address, known as the “Oration on the Crown,” has been declared to be “the most polished and powerful effort of human oratory.” Æschines was completely crushed, and was sent into exile, and became a teacher of oratory at Rhodes.

He is said to have once gathered his disciples about him, and to have read to them Demosthenes's oration that had proved so fatal to him. Carried away by the torrent of its eloquence, his pupils, unable to restrain their enthusiasm, burst into applause. “Ah!” said Æschines, who seemed to find solace in the fact that his defeat had been at the hands of so worthy an antagonist, “what would you have said had you heard the wild beast himself roaring it out?”

After a time the enemies of Demosthenes came into power at

Athens, and the orator and patriot was forced to flee from the city. He took refuge upon an island just off the coast of Peloponnesus; but being still haunted by the King of Macedonia—for Macedonia's supremacy throughout Greece was at this time complete—he put an end to his life by means of poison (322 B.C.).



CHAPTER XXIII.

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Relation of Mythology to Philosophy.—Philosophy has been very aptly defined as mythology grown old and wise. Grecian mythology did not become sufficiently wise to be called philosophy until the sixth century B.C. About that time the Greeks began to think and to inquire in a philosophical manner respecting the phenomena and laws of the universe of mind and matter. Having once entered upon this path, the Greek race reached, almost at a bound, the loftiest heights of philosophical speculation.

The Seven Sages.—About the sixth century B.C. there lived and taught in different parts of Hellas many philosophers of great originality and influence. Among these were seven men, called the “Seven Sages,” who held the place of pre-eminence. As in the case of the Seven Wonders of the World, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men. To them belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings attributed to them are beyond number.

Pythagoras.—This great philosopher was born on the island of Samos, some time during the sixth century B.C. Twenty-five years of his early life were spent in Egypt, where, being admitted, through the favor and influence of King Amasis, to

the sacred colleges of the priests, he became versed in all the mysteries of the Egyptians. He returned to Greece with a great reputation, and finally settled at Crotona, in Italy. Here he gathered about him a renowned school, or society, composed of six hundred companions, all selected with special regard to their capacity to assimilate his peculiar doctrines. Like many another ancient philosopher, Pythagoras sought to increase the reverence of his disciples for himself by peculiarities of dress and manners. His uncut hair and beard flowed down upon his shoulders and over his breast. He never smiled. His dress was a white robe, with a golden crown. For the first years of their novitiate, his pupils were not allowed to look upon their master. They listened to his lectures from behind a curtain. *Ipse dixit*, "he himself said so," was the only argument they must employ in debate. It is to Pythagoras that we are indebted for the word philosopher. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher ;" that is, a "lover of wisdom."

Pythagoras held views of the solar system that anticipated by 2000 years those of Copernicus and his school. He taught that the earth is a sphere ; and that, like the other planets, it revolves about a central globe of fire. From him comes the pretty conceit of the "music of the spheres." He imagined that the planets in their swift motions through the ether set it in vibrations, which unite in a celestial melody. Music held an important place in his system of philosophy.

He taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, an idea he had doubtless brought from Egypt. Because of this belief the Pythagoreans were strict vegetarians, abstaining religiously from the use of all animal food.

Æsop.—The fables of Æsop have been for ages the common and prized property of the world. "The Wolf and the Lamb," "The Dog and the Shadow," "The Fox and the Raven," have been the delight of the nursery ever since the genius of Æsop

gave them birth. Simple as they seem, they are inimitable, having a peculiar charm and flavor of their own.

Little or nothing is positively known of the life of the great fabulist. He is supposed to have been a contemporary of Solon. At first a slave, his talents secured him his freedom. Tradition says that he was put to death by the Delphians for having exposed in a fable some of their faults. Æsop was honored by the Athenians, who commissioned Lysippus to put his statue in bronze, which was, with much significance, accorded a place in front of the statues of the Seven Sages.

Socrates.—Volumes would not contain what would be both instructive and interesting respecting the lives and works of the three great philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. We can, however, accord to each only a few words. Of these three famous teachers, Socrates (born 469 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp and power of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world.

Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. He was incredibly homely in face, and had an awkward, shambling walk, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. His figure is said to have been the most ungainly, and therefore the most familiar, of any upon the streets of Athens. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to impart his instructions by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of "Socratic dialogue."

Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband. "Sometimes she threw water on him; but this only elicited from the mild philosopher the remark to those about him, 'Did I not say that Xanthippe was thundering and would soon rain?' "

Socrates taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known, and which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, but sometimes spoke slightly of the temples and the popular deities. This led to his prosecution on the double charge of blasphemy and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He was condemned to drink the fatal hemlock. The night before his death he spent with his disciples, discoursing on the immortality of the soul.

Plato.—Plato was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In many lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He visited Sicily, where he was so unfortunate as to call upon himself the resentment of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, through having worsted him in an argument, and also by an uncourtly plainness of speech. The king caused him to be sold into slavery as a prisoner of war. Being ransomed by a friend, he found his way to his native Athens, and established a school of philosophy in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed the greater part of his long life—he died 348 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years—laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name.

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates's method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term "Dialogues" that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his "Dialogues" are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. The "Phædo" is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples—an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul. In the "Republic"

Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. He believed not only in a future life (post-existence), but also in pre-existence; teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions, are reminiscences of a past experience. Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and philosophies since his day.*

Aristotle.—As Socrates was surpassed by his pupil Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his disciple Aristotle. In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira (384 B.C.), and hence is frequently called the Stagirite. As in the case of Socrates, his personal appearance gave no promise of the philosopher. He had a small and contemptible body, the

* In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a glimpse of Plato's doctrine of pre-existence:

“Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home.”—*Ode on Immortality*.

And again: “And but for our surface and distracted lives—lived here for the most part in the senses—we should have never lost the consciousness of our descent into immortality, nor have questioned our resurrection and longevity. But as in descending all drink of oblivion—some more, some less—it happens that while all are conscious of life, by defect of memory our recollections are various concerning it; those discerning most vividly who have drunk least of oblivion, they more easily recalling the memory of their past existence. Ancient of days, we hardly are persuaded to believe that our souls are no older than our bodies, and to date our nativity from our family registers, as if time and space could chronicle the periods of the immortal mind by its advent into the flesh and de cease out of it.”—Alcott's “Tablets,” p. 203.

defects of which were made more noticeable by his over-scrupulous care of his dress and finery. His teacher Plato, however, recognized the genius of his pupil, and called him the "Mind of the school." When he missed him from the class he would say, "Intellect is not here to-day." He also called him "The Reader," because he devoured so eagerly the works of the masters.

After studying for twenty years in the school of Plato, Aristotle became the preceptor of Alexander the Great. When Philip invited him to become the tutor of his son, he gracefully complimented the philosopher by saying in his letter that he was grateful to the gods that the prince was born in the same age with him. The royal pupil loved his great teacher with an affectionate devotion. He said, "I owe great love to my father and to my teacher Aristotle; to one for living, and to the other for living well." Alexander became the liberal patron of his tutor, and, besides giving him large sums of money, aided him in his scientific studies by sending him large collections of plants and animals, gathered on his distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher delivered his lectures while walking about beneath the trees and porticos of the Lyceum; hence the term peripatetic (from the Greek *peripatein*, to walk about) applied to his philosophy. He died 322 B.C., the same year that marks the death of Demosthenes.

Among the most important of the productions of his fertile intellect are works on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Bacon in England, for nearly 2000 years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

Zeno and the Stoics.—We are now approaching the period

when the political life of Hellas was failing, and was being fast overshadowed by the greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race was by no means eclipsed by the calamity that ended its political existence. For centuries after that event the poets, scholars, and philosophers of this intellectual people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Roman world. "From the third century before Christ to the age of Constantine," says Eugene Lawrence, "the Greek philosophers filled the world around the shores of the Mediterranean with a ceaseless mental discord."

From among all the philosophers of this long period we can select for brief mention only two teachers, Zeno and Epicurus, who are famous as founders of schools of philosophy that exerted a vast influence upon both the thought and conduct of many centuries.

Zeno, founder of the celebrated school of the Stoics, lived in the third century before our era (362-264). He taught at Athens in a public porch (in Greek *stoa*), from which circumstance comes the name applied to his disciples. The Stoical philosophy was the outgrowth of that of the Cynics, a sect of most rigid and austere morals. The typical representative of this sect is found in Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a tub, and went about Athens in daylight with a lantern in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were simply a race of pagan hermits: Diogenes was the Simon Stylites of the sect. Zeno adopted all that was good in the code of the Cynics, and, adding to this everything that he found of value in the systems of other philosophers, he formed therefrom his new philosophy. It became a favorite system of thought with certain classes of the Romans, and under its teachings and doctrines were nourished some of the purest and loftiest characters produced by the pagan world. It numbered among its representatives, in later times, the illustrious Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the scarcely less renowned and equally virtuous slave, Epictetus.

The Stoics inculcated virtue for the sake of itself. They believed—and it would be very difficult to frame a better creed—that “man’s chief business here is to do his duty.” Bodily pain, they taught, was nothing; and they schooled themselves to bear with perfect composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly and unphilosophical. Thus, when told of the sudden death of his son, the Stoic replied, “Well, I never imagined that I had given life to an immortal.”

Epicurus and the Epicureans.—Opposed to the Stoics in every article of their faith were the Epicureans, the followers of Epicurus, who was a contemporary of Zeno. They denied the doctrine of a future existence as taught by the Stoics, and allowed full indulgence to every wish and passion. Their whole philosophy was compressed in the proverb, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.”

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many during the later corrupt and licentious periods of the Roman Empire. No pure or exalted life could be nourished in the unwholesome atmosphere of such a philosophy. Epicureanism never produced a single great character. But it is proper to say that the followers of Epicurus carried his doctrines to an excess that he himself would have condemned. There is often more of good or of evil in a philosophy than its founder ever perceives.

Science among the Greeks.

In ancient times no single people or race excelled in all departments of knowledge or human endeavor. Having, then, seen the wonderful genius of the Greek race for art, literature, and philosophy, we are prepared to learn that they never evinced great aptitude for the more practical sciences. In art and literature the Greeks are still our teachers; in science we are immeasurably their superiors. Still, while this is true, the con-

tributions of the Hellenic mind to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences.

It was not until about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. that the Greeks began seriously to investigate the phenomena of the physical world. Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers were also careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. Thales (600 B.C.) was the first to attempt a rational study of the facts of the physical world. Anaxagoras (in the Periclean Age) taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as Peloponnesus. But he suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age: he was charged with impiety, and imprisoned. The great philosopher Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success.

Euclid.—Alexandria, in Egypt, became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Lagus, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools at the present time. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry."

Archimedes.—In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes, the greatest mathematician that the Grecian world produced. He had a marvellous genius for figures, and investigated the abstrusest problems in geometry, mechanics, and the allied sciences. The range and productiveness of his genius are shown by the following titles to some of his works: "On Bodies Floating in Fluids;" "On Centres of Gravity;" "On the Sphere and the Cylinder."

His acquaintance with the first subject is illustrated by the familiar story that is told of the manner in which he detected the impurity of the gold in the crown of Hiero, King of Syracuse. The king, suspecting that the gold had been alloyed, submitted the article to Archimedes, who detected the fraud by means of the principle of specific gravities, which was suggested to him while bathing. Leaping from the bath, he ran through the corridors, exclaiming, "*Eureka ! Eureka !*" — "I have found it ! I have found it !"

His knowledge of the second subject and of the laws of the lever is indicated by the oft-quoted boast that he made to Hiero : "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world." His elucidation of the properties of the sphere and cylinder were, even in his own estimation, so important that he requested that a figure of these should be placed, as the fittest memorial of his life, upon his tomb. More than one hundred years afterwards Cicero discovered and identified the monument by means of these emblems.

During the siege of Syracuse by the Romans, Archimedes rendered his native city valuable service by driving off or destroying the enemy's vessels by means of ingenious and powerful engines. The story of his setting fire to the Roman ships by means of mirrors is, after much discussion, allowed to be not only possible, but probable.

Archimedes perished in the capture of the city, but in what way he met his death is not known with certainty. The common story, however, that is told of the event is quite in keeping with the abstracted habit of the philosopher. It is related that while the enemy were sacking the city he was engaged in solving a mathematical problem. So absorbed was he in his work that, when a Roman soldier, who chanced to come upon him, commanded him to give himself up and accompany him, he either gave no heed whatever to his captor or told him to wait till he got through with the problem, whereupon the soldier killed him upon the spot.

Strabo and Ptolemy.—Among ancient Greek geographers two names are famous—Strabo and Claudius Ptolemy. Strabo was born about half a century before our era. He travelled over a large part of the world, and describes, as an eye-witness, the scenery, the productions, and the peoples of all the countries known to the ancients.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. His great reputation is due not so much to his superior genius as to the fortunate circumstance that his vast works preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects. In this way it has happened that his name has become attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these may not have been, and probably were not, originated by him. The phrase "Ptolemaic system," however, links his name inseparably, whether the honor be fairly his or not, with that conception of the solar system set forth in his works, which continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus—fourteen centuries later.

*Begun here
winter term.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ROMAN KINGDOM.

(753-509 B.C.)

Divisions of Italy.—The peninsula of Italy, like that of Greece, divides itself into three parts—Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The first comprises the great basin of the Po, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In ancient times this part of Italy included three districts—Liguria, Gallia Cisalpina, and Venetia. The first embraced the western and the last the eastern part of Northern Italy. Gallia Cisalpina lay between these two districts, occupying the finest portion of the valley of the Po. It received its name, which means “Gaul this side the Alps,” from the Gallic tribes that in the sixth century before our era found their way over the mountains and settled upon these rich lands.

The countries of Central Italy were Etruria, Latium, and Campania, facing the Western or Tuscan Sea; Umbria and Picenum, looking out over the Eastern or Adriatic Sea; and Samnium and the country of the Sabines, occupying the rough mountain districts of the Apennines.

Southern Italy comprised the countries of Apulia, Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttium. Calabria occupied the “heel,” and Bruttium formed the “toe,” of the peninsula. This part of Italy was, in connection with the island of Sicily, also known as Magna Græcia, or “Great Greece,” on account of the number and importance of the Greek cities that during the period of Hellenic supremacy were established in these regions.

The large island of Sicily, lying just off the mainland on the south, may be regarded simply as a detached fragment of Italy,

so intimately has its destiny been interwoven with that of the peninsula. In ancient times it was the meeting-place and battle-ground of the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

Early Inhabitants of Italy.—There were, in early times, four races in Italy—the Pelasgians, the Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks. They all probably (uncertainty still attaches to the ethnic relations of the Etruscans) belonged to the great Indo-European family of nations, and were near akin in speech, customs, and religion.

The Pelasgians were the first comers, and are thought to have reached Italy by way of the sea, from the western coast of Greece. The Italians, the different tribes of which race seem to have entered the peninsula in successive waves from the north, crowded the Pelasgians southward into Calabria, and then, settling down, took possession of nearly all Central Italy. After them came the Rasennæ, who, subjugating and blending with the Italian tribes in Etruria, took the name of Etruscans. They here formed a league of twelve cities, and before the rise of the Roman people were the most cultured of all the races in Italy. Numerous works of art—such as tombs, fragments of walls, massive dikes to keep back the sea, and long tunnels piercing the sides of hills to drain the lakes lying in the crater of extinct volcanoes—evidence the advance in civilization they had made at a very remote date. They were a maritime people, and carried on an early trade with Phœnicia and Egypt.

Some six hundred years B.C. the Gauls came over the Alps, pressed the Etrurians out of Northern Italy, into which quarter they had extended their power, and settling in those regions, became the most formidable enemies of the infant republic of Rome. Of the establishment of the Greek cities in Southern Italy, we have already learned in connection with Grecian history.

The Latins.—Most important of all the Italian peoples were

the Latins, who dwelt in Latium, between the Tiber and the Liris. These people brought with them into Italy those same customs, manners, beliefs, and institutions—modified, of course, by the circumstances of their long wanderings and through contact with other peoples—which we have seen to have been the common possession of the various branches of the Aryan household. The unit of their social system was the family; the families united, usually by the affinities of blood, to form clans, the households of which, clustering upon chosen spots, formed small villages; these again united to form cantons, each of which had a central stronghold, usually some rock or eminence easily defended. Here “the markets were held, games celebrated, justice administered, and religious rites observed.” There is said to have been in all Latium thirty cantons, and these formed an alliance known as the Latin League. The city which first assumed importance and leadership among the cantons of this confederation was Alba Longa, the “Long White City,” so called because its white buildings stretched for a great distance along the summit of a ridge.

The Ramnes, or Romans.—Although Alba Longa at first held the place of pre-eminence among the Latin towns, another city soon acquired the position of leadership. This was Rome, the stronghold of the Ramnes, or Romans, located upon a low hill on the south bank of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from the sea. Rome was the Sparta of the Italian peninsula. The history of this famous city, whose story we are now to narrate, was, in many ways, strikingly parallel to that of the Lacedæmonian capital. The early Romans and Spartans were alike renowned for their martial valor and their unrelenting cruelty; both quickly crushed and reduced to slavery, or to the condition of subject allies, all the states about them; both ever favored government by the few as opposed to government by the many—upheld aristocratical as opposed to democratical institutions; Sparta crushed her rival Athens and levelled her walls,

and Rome drove the ploughshare over the site of her rival Carthage; and, to complete the parallel, as warlike Sparta finally fell through the decay of the early virtues and patriotism of her citizens, so did Rome at last fall through the enfeebling and corrupting influences of a like career of conquest and robbery.

The Beginnings of Rome.—The traditions of the Romans place the founding of their city in the year 753 B.C. As these same legends relate much besides about the Trojan Æneas and Romulus and Remus which we know to be purely mythical, we cannot be certain as to the date of the origin of the city. We may believe, though, that it was founded at least as early as the time assigned. Recent excavations have revealed the foundations of the old walls and two of the ancient gates. We thus learn that the city at first covered only the top of the Palatine Hill, one of a cluster of low eminences on the left bank of the Tiber, which were finally embraced within the limits of the growing city, and became the famed "Seven Hills of Rome." From the shape of its enclosing walls, the original city was called *Roma Quadrata*, "Square Rome."

Rome's First Conquest.—The first accession to the strength of Rome was gained through an alliance with a Sabine city built upon a neighboring hill called the Quirinal. These Sabines were near kinsmen of the Latin peoples, and the two communities readily blended. Rome was now strong enough to wage successful war with the other Latin towns for the position of leader among them. Alba Longa, at the end of a long war, was captured, razed to the ground, and the inhabitants carried in a body to Rome, and settled on the Cælian Mount, one of the Seven Hills. Rome was now without a rival among the Latin cities. They looked to her as their guardian, and under her leadership repelled the encroachments of the maritime powers of Carthage and Magna Græcia, and beat back

the invasions of the Etruscans and Italian tribes that were constantly pressing upon the frontiers of Latium, or carried their conquests into the territory of the surrounding peoples, and thus gradually enlarged the boundaries of the Latin state.

Rome Becomes a Great City.—The position of supremacy assumed by Rome was naturally attended by the rapid growth in population and importance of the little Palatine city.* The original walls soon became too strait for the increasing multitudes; new ramparts were built—tradition says under the direction of the king Servius Tullius—which, with a great circuit of seven miles, swept around the entire cluster of the Seven Hills. A large tract of marshy ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills was drained by means of the Cloaca Maxima, the “Great Sewer,” which was so admirably constructed that it has been preserved to the present day. It still discharges its waters through a great arch into the Tiber. The land thus reclaimed became the Forum, the assembling-place of the people. At one angle of this public square, as we would term it, was the Comitium, a large platform, where the assemblies of the patricians were held. Standing upon this platform, so placed that the speaker could command with his voice both the plebeians in the Forum and the patricians in the Comitium,

* Several causes have been assigned to account for the early and rapid growth of the power of Rome. Its situation upon the Tiber was, without doubt, favorable to its early development as a centre of trade and commerce; while its distance from the sea protected it from the depredations of the pirates which in early times swarmed in the Mediterranean and desolated the coast cities. But most potent of all influences in shaping the fortunes and character of the inhabitants of the little Palatine town was the necessity which they found themselves under to form some sort of social and political connection with the neighboring communities that held possession of the hills immediately about them. The early circumstances of the national life would thus seem to have given a certain legal and political bias to that Roman genius which was destined to give laws to the world.

was the rostrum,* or desk, from which the Roman orators delivered their addresses. This assembling-place in later times was enlarged and decorated with various monuments and surrounded with splendid buildings and porticos. Here more was said, resolved upon, and done than upon any other spot in the ancient world.

The Senate-house occupied one side of the Forum; and facing this on the opposite side were the Temple of Vesta and the palace of the king. Overlooking all from the summit of the Capitoline was the famous sanctuary called the Capitol, or the Capitoline temple, where beneath the same roof were the shrines of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the three great national deities.

Upon the level ground between the Aventine and the Palatine was located the Circus Maximus, the "Great Circle," where were celebrated the Roman games. The most famous of the streets of Rome was the Via Sacra, or "Sacred Way," which traversed the Forum and led up the Capitoline Hill to the Temple of Jupiter. This was the street along which passed the triumphal processions of the Roman conquerors.

Classes of Society.—The two important classes of the population of Rome during the latter part of the regal period were the patricians and the plebeians. The former were the descendants of the ancient Ramnes, Sabines, and Albans, and at first alone possessed political rights. They were proud, exclusive, and tenacious of their inherited privileges. The latter were made up chiefly of the inhabitants of subjected cities, and of refugees from various quarters that had sought an asylum at Rome. They were free to acquire property, and enjoyed personal freedom, but at first had no political rights whatever. The greater number were petty land-owners, who held and cul-

* "The name of rostrum was given it in the sixth century of the city, when it was adorned by Duillius with the brazen beaks, or rostra, of the Carthaginians."—Merivale.

tivated the soil about the capital. A large part of the history of Rome for several centuries is simply the narration of the struggles of this class to secure an equal share with the patricians in the management of the government.

Besides these two principal orders, there were two other classes—clients and slaves. The former were attached to the families of the patricians, who became their patrons and protectors. The relation of patron and client at Rome was something like that existing between lord and vassal in the later feudal system of Europe. The client must follow his patron to war, aid in his ransom if taken prisoner, and contribute to the defraying of his expenses when elected to public office. The patron, on his part, was bound to look after the interests of his client and, when necessity arose, plead his cause in the courts. A large clientage was considered the crown and glory of a patrician house.

The slaves were largely captives in war, and were in the hard and abject condition that characterizes that class everywhere. Their number, small at first, gradually increased as the Romans extended their conquests, till they outnumbered all the other classes taken together, and more than once turned upon their oppressors in formidable revolts that threatened the very existence of the Roman state.

Early Government: King, Senate, and Popular Assembly.—For nearly two and a half centuries after the founding of Rome (from 753 to 509 B.C.), the government was an elective monarchy. The Roman nation, as we have already learned, was formed by the union of three different, though nearly allied, communities—the Ramnes (the Romans proper, who gave name to the mixed people), the Sabines, and the Albans. These constituted three tribes, called Ramnes, Tities, and Luces. Each tribe was divided into ten wards, or *curiæ*, and each ward was again divided into ten houses, or *gentes*. The nation was thus nominally composed of three hundred great

houses. These divisions, as we shall see, formed the basis of the political constitution.

At the head of the nation stood the King, who was at once ruler of the people, commander of the army, judge and high-priest of the nation, with absolute power as to life and death.

Next to the king stood the Senate, a body of three hundred members, the heads of the three hundred houses that made up the Roman state. This body had no power to enact laws: the duty of its members was simply to advise with the king, who was free to follow or disregard their suggestions.

The Popular Assembly (*comitia curiata*) comprised the heads of all the families, or households, of the nation. It was this body that enacted the laws of the state, determined upon peace or war, and also confirmed the election of the king; for upon the death of the monarch the power which had been delegated to him fell back into the hands of the people.

The Legendary Kings.—To span the two hundred and forty-four years that mark the life of the Roman kingdom, the legends of the Romans tell of the reigns of seven kings—Romulus, the founder of Rome; Numa, the lawgiver; Tullius Hostilius and Ancus Martius, conquerors both; Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder; Servius Tullius, the reorganizer of the government and second founder of the state; and Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty tyrant, whose oppressions led to the abolition by the people of the office of king.

The traditions of the doings of these monarchs and of what happened to them so blend fact, fiction, and exaggeration that scholars have almost despaired of ever being able to separate the mythical from the purely historical element that they contain. We cannot be quite sure even as to the names. Respecting the last two, however, some important things are related, the substantial historicalness of which we may rely upon with a fair degree of certainty; and these matters we shall notice in the following paragraphs.

New Constitution of Servius Tullius.—Before the close of the regal period the plebeian class in Rome had become very numerous, and were clamoring to be admitted to a share in the government. Tarquinius, the predecessor of Servius Tullius, was inclined to favor the plebeians in their demands, but, through the jealousy of the patricians, who guarded with the greatest watchfulness the privileges of their class, was able to secure only for the wealthy and most influential of the commons the right to seats in the Senate and participation in the government.

But Servius Tullius effected a sweeping reform. He made property instead of birth the basis of the new constitution. The entire population was divided into five classes, the first of which included all citizens, whether patricians or plebeians, who owned twenty *jugera* (about twelve acres) of land; the fifth and lowest embraced all that could show title to even two *jugera*. The army was made up of the members of the five classes; as it was thought right and proper that the public defence should be the care of those who, on account of their possessions, were most interested in the maintenance of order and in the protection of the boundaries of the state.

The assembling-place of the military classes thus organized was on a large plain just outside the city walls, called the Campus Martius, or "Field of Mars." The meeting of these military orders was called the *comitia centuriata*, or the "assembly of hundreds."

The reforms of Servius Tullius became the Magna Charta of the Roman constitution. Carrying on the contest for their rights under the sanction and protection of the Servian laws, the plebeians were at last enabled to possess themselves of all the privileges of the patricians, and to gain an equal share with them in the administration of the government.

The Expulsion of the Kings.—The legends make Tarquinius Superbus, or Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome.

He is represented as a monstrous tyrant, whose arbitrary acts caused both patricians and plebeians to unite and drive him and all his house into exile. This event occurred in the year 509 B.C., only one year later than the expulsion of the tyrants—the Pisistratids—from Athens.

So bitterly did the people hate the tyranny they had abolished that it is said they all, the nobles as well as the commons, bound themselves by most solemn oaths never again to tolerate a king, enacting that should any one so much as express a wish for the restoration of the monarchy he should be considered a public enemy and be put to death. We shall hereafter see how well this vow was kept for nearly five hundred years.

The Roman Religion.

Influence upon Political Affairs.—To the early Romans the gods were very real. Hence religion had a great influence upon the course of public events at Rome during the first centuries of her existence. Later, when the learned had lost faith in and fear of the gods, religion was used corruptly for political purposes. Thus it happens that the political history of the Roman people becomes closely interwoven with their religion. Therefore, in order to understand the transactions of the period upon which we are about to enter, we must first acquaint ourselves with at least the prominent features of the religious institutions and beliefs of the Romans.

The Chief Roman Deities.—The basis of the Roman religious system was the same as that of the Grecian: the germs of its institutions were brought from the same home in Central Asia. At the head of the Pantheon stood Jupiter, identical in all essential attributes with the Hellenic Zeus. He was the special protector of the Roman people. To him, together with Juno and Minerva, was consecrated, as we have already noticed, a magnificent temple upon the summit of the Capitoline Hill,

overlooking the Forum and the city. Mars, surnamed Quirinus, the god of war, standing next in rank, was the favorite deity and the fabled father of the Roman race, who were fond of calling themselves the "children of Mars." They proved themselves worthy offspring of the war-god. Martial games and festivals were celebrated in his honor during the first month of the Roman year, which bore, and still bears, in his honor, the name of March. Janus was a double-faced deity, "the god of the beginning and the end of everything." He opened and shut the gates of the day and night. The month of January was sacred to him, as were also all gates and doors. The gates of his temple were always kept open in time of war and shut in time of peace.

The Eternal Fires of Vesta.—The fire upon the household hearth was thought the symbol of the goddess Vesta. Her worship was a favorite one with the Romans. The nation, too, as a single great family, had a common national hearth in the Temple of Vesta, where the sacred fires were kept burning from generation to generation by six virgins, daughters of the Roman state. The Lares and Penates were household gods. Their images were set in the entrance of the dwelling. The Lares were the spirits of ancestors, which were thought to linger about the home as its guardians.

Oracles and Divination.—The Romans were very superstitious. They thought, with the Greeks, that the will of the gods was communicated to men by means of oracles, and by strange sights, unusual events, or singular coincidences. There was but one oracle at Rome. The Romans, therefore, often had recourse to those in Magna Græcia, even sending for advice, in great emergencies, to the Delphian shrine. From Etruria was introduced the art of the haruspices, which consisted in discovering the divine mind by the appearance of victims slain for the sacrifices.

The Sacred Colleges.—There were four sacred colleges—the Keepers of the Sibylline Books, the College of Augurs, the College of Pontiffs, and the College of the Herald.

A curious legend is told of the Sibylline Books. An old woman came to Tarquin and offered to sell him, for an extravagant price, nine volumes. As the king declined to pay the sum demanded, the woman departed, destroyed three of the books, and then, returning, offered the remainder at the very same sum as she had wanted for the complete number. The king still refused to purchase; so the sibyl went away and destroyed three more of the volumes, and, bringing back the remaining three, asked the same price as before. Tarquin was by this time so curious respecting the contents of the mysterious books that he purchased the remaining volumes. It was found upon examination that they were filled with prophecies respecting the future of the Roman people. The books were placed in a stone chest, which was kept in a vault beneath the Capitoline temple; and two men were appointed to take charge of them and interpret them. The number of “keepers” was in later times increased to sixty. The books were consulted only in times of the extremest danger.

The College of Augurs was composed at first of four, but at last of sixteen, members. Their duty was to interpret the omens, or auspices, which were casual sights or appearances, by which means it was believed that Jupiter made known his will. Great skill was required in the “taking of the auspices,” as it was called. No business of importance, public or private, was entered upon without first consulting the auspices, to ascertain whether they were favorable. The public assembly, for illustration, must not convene, to elect officers or to pass laws, unless the auspices had been taken and found propitious. Should a peal of thunder occur while the people were holding a meeting, that was considered an unfavorable omen, and the assembly must instantly disperse.

It is easy to see how the power of the augurs might be used

corruptly for political ends. At first all the members of the college were patricians, and very frequently they would prevent the plebeians from holding an assembly by giving out that the auspices were not favorable; and sometimes, when matters were not taking such a course in the popular assembly as suited the nobles, and some measure obnoxious to their order was on the point of being carried, they would secure an announcement from the augurs that Jupiter was thundering, or manifesting his displeasure in some other way; and the people were obliged to break up their meeting on the instant. One of the privileges contended for by the plebeians was admission to this college, that they might assist in watching the omens, and thus this important matter not be left entirely in the hands of their enemies.

The College of Pontiffs was so called because one of the duties of its members was to keep in repair the bridges (*pontes*) over which the religious processions were accustomed to pass. This was the most important of all the religious institutions of the Romans; for to the pontiffs belonged the superintendence of all religious matters. In their keeping, too, was the calendar, and they could lengthen or shorten the year, which power they sometimes used to extend the office of a favorite or to cut short that of one who had incurred their displeasure. The head of the college was called Pontifex Maximus, which title was assumed by the Roman emperors, and after them by the Christian bishops of Rome; and thus the name has come down to our own times.

The College of Heraldry had the care of all public matters pertaining to foreign nations. If the Roman people had suffered any wrong from another state, it was the duty of the heralds to demand satisfaction. If this was denied, and war determined upon, then a herald proceeded to the frontier of the enemy's country and hurled over the boundary a spear dipped in blood. This was a declaration of war. The Romans were very careful in the observance of this ceremony.

"In the war with Pyrrhus, as the spear could not be hurled into the enemy's territory, to preserve the form a subject of Pyrrhus, a prisoner of war at Rome, was compelled to purchase a piece of land in the Flaminian Circus. This was declared to be hostile territory, and the *pater patratus* hurled here the hostile spear" (Leighton).

LEGENDARY KINGS OF ROME.

	B.C.
Romulus.....	753-716
Numa Pompilius.....	715-672
Tullus Hostilius.....	672-640
Ancus Martius.....	640-616
Tarquinius Priscus.....	616-578
Servius Tullius.....	578-534
Tarquinius Superbus.....	534-509

Names mythical, or at least uncertain, and the dates conjectural.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC : THE CONQUEST OF ITALY.

(509-264 B.C.)

The First Consuls.—With the monarchy overthrown and the last king and his house banished from Rome, the people set to work to reorganize the government. In place of the king, there were elected (by the *comitia centuriata*, in which assembly the plebeians had a place) two magistrates, or presidents, called consuls, who were chosen for one year, and were invested with all the powers, save some priestly functions, that had been held by the monarch during the regal period. It was necessary that the consuls should agree as touching any matter : neither could act without the consent of the other.

Lucius Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls under the new constitution. But it is said that the very name of Tarquinius was so intolerable to the people that he was forced to resign the consulship, and that he and all his house were driven out of Rome. Another consul, Publius Valerius, was chosen in his stead.

First Secession of the Plebeians.—For two centuries after the expulsion of the kings, the little Roman Republic was engaged in a constant struggle for existence. The Latin towns that had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, together with the Etruscans, taking advantage of the disorders that followed the political revolution, now rose in revolt ; and the result was that Rome was stripped of almost all the conquests she had made under the kings, and had now to commence anew the work of subjugating and reducing to vassalage

the tribes about her. In these early struggles of the infant republic, patricians and plebeians stood side by side. Although the former had the chief management of the government, yet the constitution was amended from time to time in favor of the common people; the nobles assenting to these changes through fear that the plebeians, if rendered dissatisfied with their place in the new government, might side with the banished king, who had joined the enemies of Rome, and aid in the restoration of the royal party.

But upon the death of Tarquin affairs assumed a new aspect. There was now no longer any fear of the re-establishment of the monarchy, and the patricians, by their haughty and dictatorial bearing towards the plebeians, soon made it manifest that their former concessions were prompted rather by fear and policy than by unselfish concern for the welfare of their humbler partners in the state. The patricians held all the offices of the government. The poor plebeians, during the recent disorders and wars, had fallen in debt to the wealthy class—for the Roman soldier went to war at his own charges, equipping and feeding himself—and payment was now exacted with heartless severity. A debtor became the absolute property of his creditor, who might sell him as a slave to pay the debt, and in some cases even put him to death. All this was intolerable. The plebeians determined to secede from Rome and build a new city for themselves on a neighboring eminence, called afterwards the Sacred Hill. They marched away in a body from Rome to the chosen spot, and began making preparations for erecting new homes (494 B.C.).

The Covenant and the Tribunes.—The patricians saw clearly that such a division must prove ruinous to the state, and that the plebeians must be persuaded to give up their enterprise and come back to Rome. The consul Valerius was sent to treat with the insurgents. The plebeians were at first obstinate, but at last were persuaded to yield to the entreaties of the em-

bassy to return, being won to this mind, so it is said, by one of the wise senators, Menenius, who made use of the famous fable of the Body and the Members.

The following covenant was entered into, and bound by the most solemn oaths and vows before the gods: The debts of the poor plebeians were to be cancelled and those held in slavery set free; and two magistrates, called tribunes, whose duty it should be to watch over and protect the rights of the plebeians, were to be chosen from the commons. The persons of these officers were made sacred. Any one interrupting a tribune in the discharge of his duties, or doing him any violence, was declared an outlaw whom any one might kill. That the tribunes might be always easily found, they were not allowed to go more than one mile beyond the city walls. Their houses were to be open night as well as day, that any plebeian unjustly dealt with might flee thither for protection and refuge.

We cannot overestimate the importance of the change effected in the Roman constitution by the creation of this office of the tribunate. Under the protection and leadership of the tribunes, they themselves protected by the gods and by oaths of inviolable sanctity, the plebeians now resumed their struggle for a share in all the offices and dignities of the state—a struggle which never ceased until the Roman government, as yet only republican in name, became in fact a real democracy, in which patrician and plebeian shared equally in all emoluments and privileges.

Coriolanus.—The tradition of Coriolanus illustrates in what manner the tribunes cared for the rights of the common people and protected them from the oppression of the nobles. During a severe famine at Rome, Gelon, the King of Syracuse, sent large quantities of corn to the capital for distribution among the suffering poor. A certain patrician, Coriolanus, made a proposal that none of the corn should be given to the plebeians save on condition that they give up their tribunes.

He was brought before the plebeian assembly on the charge of having broken the solemn covenant of the Sacred Mount, and so bitter was the feeling against him that he was obliged to flee from Rome.

He now allied himself with the Volscians, enemies of Rome, and even led their armies against his native city. An embassy from the Senate was sent to him, to sue for peace. But the spirit of Coriolanus was bitter and revengeful, and he would listen to none of their proposals. Nothing availed to move him until his mother, at the head of a train of Roman matrons, came to his tent, and with tears pleaded with him to spare the city. Her entreaties and the "soft prayers" of his own wife and children prevailed, and with the words "Mother, thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son," he led away the Volscian army.

The traditions differ as to his fate. One says that he was condemned to death by the Volscians; while another account represents him as living to an advanced age in lonely exile.

Cincinnatus made Dictator.—The enemies of Rome, taking advantage of the dissensions of the nobles and commons, pressed upon the frontiers of the republic on all sides, ravaged Latium, and even pitched their tents within sight of the walls of the capital. In 458 B.C., the Æquians, while one of the consuls was away fighting the Sabines, defeated the forces of the other, and shut them up in a narrow valley, whence escape seemed impossible. There was great terror in Rome when news of the situation of the army was brought to the city.

The Senate immediately appointed Cincinnatus, a noble patrician, dictator. The ambassadors that carried to him the message from the Senate found him upon his little farm near the Tiber, at work behind the plough. Accepting at once the office, he hastily gathered an army, marched to the relief of the consul, captured the entire army of the Volscians, and sent them beneath the yoke. (This was formed of two spears thrust firmly into the ground and crossed a few feet from the earth by a third. Prisoners of war were forced to pass beneath this

yoke as a symbol of submission.) Cincinnatus then led his army back to Rome in triumph, laid down his office, and sought again the retirement of his farm.

The Decemvirs and the Table of Laws.—Written laws are always a great safeguard against oppression. Until what shall constitute a crime and what shall be its penalty are clearly written down and well known and understood by all, judges may render unfair decisions, or inflict harsher punishment than just, and yet run little risk—unless they go altogether too far—of being called to an account; for no one but themselves knows what the law or the penalty really is. Hence in all struggles of the people against the tyranny of the ruling class, the demand for written laws is one of the first measures taken by the people for the protection of their persons and property. Thus we have seen the people of Athens, early in their struggle with the nobles, demanding and obtaining a code of written laws. The same thing now took place at Rome. The plebeians demanded that a code of laws be drawn up, in accordance with which the consuls, who exercised judicial powers, should render their decisions. The patricians offered a stubborn resistance to these wishes, but finally were forced to yield to the popular clamor.

A commission was sent to the Greek cities of Southern Italy and to Athens to study the Grecian laws and customs. Upon the return of this embassy, a commission of ten magistrates, who were known as decemvirs, was appointed to frame a code of laws. These officers, while engaged in this work, were also to administer the entire government, and so were invested with the supreme power of the state. The patricians gave up their consuls and the plebeians their tribunes. At the end of the first year, the task of the board was quite far from being finished, so a new decemvirate was elected to complete the work. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board that was returned to the new.

The code was soon finished, and the laws were written on twelve tablets of brass, which were fastened to the rostrum in the Forum, where they might be seen and read by all. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were to Roman jurisprudence what the good laws of Solon were to the Athenian constitution. They formed the basis of all new legislation for many centuries, and constituted a part of the education of the Roman youth—every schoolboy being required to learn them by heart.

Misrule and Overthrow of the Decemvirs.—The first decemvirs used the great power lodged in their hands with justice and prudence; but the second board, under the leadership of Appius Claudius, instituted a most infamous and tyrannical rule. No man's life was safe, be he patrician or plebeian. An ex-tribune daring to denounce the course of the decemvirs was caused by them to be assassinated. Another act, even more outrageous than this, filled to the brim the cup of their iniquities. Virginia was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian, and Appius Claudius, desiring to gain possession of her, made use of his authority as a judge to pronounce her a slave. The father of the maiden, preferring the death to the dishonor of his daughter, killed her with his own hand. Then, drawing the weapon from her breast, he hastened to the army, which was resisting a united invasion of the Sabines and Æquians, and, exhibiting the bloody knife, told the story of the outrage. The soldiers rose as a single man and hurried to the city. The excitement resulted in a great body of the Romans, soldiers and citizens, probably chiefly plebeians, seceding from the state, and marching away to the Sacred Hill. This procedure, which once before had proved so effectual in securing justice to the oppressed, had a similar issue now. The situation was so critical that the decemvirs were forced to resign. The consulate and the tribunate were restored. Eight of the decemvirs were forced to go into exile; Appius Claudius and one other, having been imprisoned, committed suicide.

Consular or Military Tribunes.—The overthrow of the decemvirate was followed by a long struggle between the nobles and the commons, which was an effort on the part of the latter to gain admission to the consulship ; for up to this time only a patrician could hold that office. The contention resulted in a compromise. It was agreed that, in place of the two consuls, the people might elect from either order six (some ancient authorities say three) magistrates, who should be known as “military tribunes with consular powers.” These officers differed from consuls more in name than in functions or authority. In fact, the plebeians had gained the office, but not the name.

The Censors.—No sooner had the plebeians virtually secured admission to the consulship, than the jealous and exclusive patricians commenced scheming to rob them of the fruit of the victory they had gained. They effected this by taking from the consulate some of its most distinctive duties and powers, and conferring them upon two new patrician officers called censors. The functions of these magistrates were many and important. They took the census, and thus assigned to every man his position in the different classes of the citizens ; they had power to fill all vacancies in the Senate, and to strike from its rolls such names as they deemed unworthy ; and they could, for immoralities or any improper conduct, not only degrade a man from his rank, but deprive him of his vote. It was their duty to watch the public morals and in case of necessity to administer wholesome advice. Thus we are told of their reproving the young Romans for wearing tunics with long sleeves—an Oriental and effeminate custom—and for neglecting to marry upon arriving at a proper age.

The first censors were elected in the year 445 B.C. ; about one hundred years afterwards, in 351 B.C., the plebeians secured the right of holding this office also.

Siege and Capture of Veii.—We must now turn to regard the fortunes of Rome in war. Almost from the founding of the city, we find its warlike citizens carrying on a fierce contest with their powerful Etruscan neighbors on the north. Veii was one of the largest and richest of the cities of Etruria. Around this the war gathered. The Romans, like the Grecians at Troy, lay beneath its walls for ten years. The length of the siege, and the necessity of maintaining a force permanently in the field, led to the establishment of a paid standing army; for hitherto the soldier had not only equipped himself, but had served without pay. Thus was laid the basis of that military power which was destined to effect the conquest of the world, and then, in the hands of ambitious and favorite generals, to overthrow the republic itself.

The capture of Veii by the dictator Camillus (396 B.C.) was followed by that of many other Etruscan towns. Rome was enriched by their spoils, and became the centre of a large and lucrative trade. The frontiers of the republic were pushed out even beyond the utmost limits of the kingdom before its overthrow. All that was lost by the revolution had been now regained, and much besides had been won. At this moment there broke upon the city a storm from the north, which all but cut short the story we are narrating.

Sack of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).—We have already told how, in very remote times, the tribes of Gaul, either pressed by new-comers from Asia or led by their wandering habits, crossed the Alps and established themselves in Northern Italy. While the Romans were conquering the towns of Southern Etruria, and thus pushing northward the boundaries of the republic, these barbarian hordes were moving southward, and overrunning and devastating the countries of Central Italy.

News was borne to Rome that they were advancing upon that city. A Roman army met them on the banks of the river Allia, eleven miles from the capital. The Romans were driven

in great panic from the field. It would be impossible to picture the consternation and despair that reigned at Rome when the fugitives brought to the city intelligence of the terrible disaster. It was never forgotten, and the day of the battle of Allia was ever after a black day in the Roman calendar. The sacred vessels of the temples were buried ; the eternal fires of Vesta were hurriedly borne by their virgin keepers to a place of safety in Etruria ; and a large part of the population fled in dismay across the Tiber. No attempt was made to defend any portion of the city save the citadel.

When the Gauls entered the city they found everything abandoned to them. The aged senators, so the Romans afterwards proudly related, thinking it unworthy of their office to seek safety in flight, resolved to meet death in a befitting way. Arrayed in their robes of office, each with his ivory-headed wand in his hand, they seated themselves in the Forum, in their chairs of state, and there sat, "silent and motionless as statues," while the barbarians were carrying on their work of sack and pillage about them. The rude Gauls, arrested by the venerable aspect of the white-haired senators, gazed in awe upon the strange assembly, and offered them no violence. But, finally, one of the barbarians laid his hand upon the beard of the venerable Papirius, to stroke it under an impulse of childlike reverence. The aged senator, interpreting the movement as an insult, struck the Gaul with his sceptre. The spell was instantly broken. The enraged barbarians struck Papirius from his seat, and then falling upon the other senators massacred them all.

The little garrison within the Capitol, under the command of the hero Manlius, for seven months resisted all the efforts of the Gauls to dislodge them. A tradition tells how, when the barbarians, under cover of the darkness of night, had climbed the steep rock and had almost effected an entrance to the citadel, the defenders were awakened by the cackling of some geese, which, because sacred to Juno, the piety of the soldiers

had spared, notwithstanding they were sorely in need of food.

News was now brought the Gauls that the Venetians were overrunning their possessions in Northern Italy. This led them to open negotiations with the Romans. For one thousand pounds of gold they agreed to raise the siege of the citadel and retire from the city. The story is, that, while the gold was being weighed out in the Forum, the Romans complained that the weights were false, when Brennus, the Gallic leader, threw his sword also into the scales, exclaiming, "*Væ victis!*" "Woe to the conquered." Just at this moment Camillus, a brave patrician general, appeared upon the scene with a Roman army that had been gathered from the fugitives; and, as he scattered the barbarians with heavy blows, he exclaimed, "Rome is ransomed by steel and not by gold." According to one account Brennus himself was taken prisoner; but another tradition says that he escaped, carrying with him not only the ransom, but a vast booty besides.

The Rebuilding of Rome.—When the fugitives returned to Rome after the withdrawal of the Gauls, they found the city a heap of ruins. Some of the poorer classes, shrinking from the labor of rebuilding their old homes, proposed to abandon the site and make Veii their new capital. But love for the old spot at last prevailed over all the persuasions of indolence, and the people, with admirable courage, set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes. It was a repetition of the scene at Athens after the retreat of the Persians. The city was speedily restored, and was soon enjoying her old position of supremacy among the surrounding states. There were some things, however, which even Roman resolution and perseverance could not restore. These were the ancient records and documents, through whose irreparable loss the early history of Rome is involved in great obscurity and uncertainty. Some of the ancient historians did not attempt to write the story of the city

before its destruction by the Gauls, but began their narratives with its restoration after that terrible disaster.

Treason and Death of Manlius.—The ravages of the Gauls left the poor plebeians in a most pitiable condition. In order to rebuild their dwellings and restock their farms, they were obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians, and so soon began again to experience the insult and oppression that were ever incident to the condition of the debtor class at Rome.

The patrician Manlius, the hero of the brave defence of the Capitol, now came forward as the champion of the plebeians. It seems evident that in thus undertaking the cause of the commons he had personal aims and ambitions. He sold the larger part of his estates, and devoted the proceeds to the relief of the debtor class. The debts of some he paid outright. To over four hundred persons in great distress he loaned money free of interest. At the same time, he denounced, to the crowds that gathered about his house, the cruelty and oppression of the patricians, and even went so far as to charge them with having enriched themselves with the money which had been contributed by all classes for replacing the utensils and ornaments of the temples that had been plundered by the Gauls. The patricians determined to crush him. He was imprisoned on the charge of libel. The clamor of the people secured his release. With a large band of his followers, he now intrenched himself in his palace on the Capitoline Hill. He was finally seized, and brought to trial before the popular assembly, on the charge of conspiring to restore the office of king. From the Forum, where the people were gathered, the Capitol, which Manlius had so bravely defended against the barbarians, was in full sight. Pointing to the temples he had saved, he appealed to the gods and to the gratitude of the Roman people. The people responded to the appeal in a way altogether natural. They refused to condemn him. But brought to trial a second time, and now in a grove whence the citadel could not

be seen, he was sentenced to death, and was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.* This event occurred 384 B.C.

Plebeians Admitted to the Consulship.—For nearly half a century after the death of Manlius the most important events in the history of Rome centre about the struggle of the plebeians for admission to those offices of the government whence the jealousy of the patricians still excluded them. The Licinian laws, besides relieving the poor of usurious interest, and effecting a more just division of the public lands, also provided that the consulship should be restored (we will recall that the consuls had been replaced by military tribunes with consular power), and that one of the consuls should be a plebeian. This last provision opened to any one of the plebeian class the highest office in the state. The nobles, when they saw that it would be impossible to resist the popular demand, had recourse to the old device. They effected a compromise, whereby the judicial powers of the consuls were taken from that office and conferred upon two new magistrates called prætors. Only patricians, of course, were to be eligible to this new office. They then permitted the Licinian laws to pass (366 B.C.).

During the latter half of the fourth century B.C. (between the years 356–300) the plebeians gained admittance to the dictatorship, the censorship, the prætorship, and to the College of Augurs and the College of Pontiffs. With plebeians in all these positions, the rights of the lower order were fairly secured against oppressive and partisan decisions on the part of the magistrates, and against party fraud in the taking of the auspices and in the regulation of the calendar. There

* The Tarpeian Rock was the name given to the cliff which the Capitoline Hill formed on the side towards the Tiber. It received its name from Tarpeia, daughter of one of the legendary keepers of the citadel, who betrayed the fortress to the Sabines, and was afterwards slain by the Sabines themselves for her treachery. State criminals were frequently executed by being thrown from this rock.

was now political equality between the nobility and the commonalty.

Wars for the Mastery of Italy.

The First Samnite War (343-341 B.C.).—The union of the two orders in the state now allowed the Romans to employ their undivided strength in subjugating the different states of the peninsula. The most formidable competitors of the Romans for supremacy in Italy were the Samnites, rough and warlike mountaineers who held the Apennines to the west of Latium. They were worthy rivals of the "children of Mars." The successive struggles between these martial races are known as the First, Second, and Third Samnite wars. They extended over a period of half a century, and in their course involved almost all the states of Italy.

In 343 B.C., the Campanians, who were descendants of the Samnites, but whom life on the plains and contact with Hellenic civilization had transformed into a people very different from their kinsmen of the mountains, appealed to the Romans for aid against their troublesome relatives; for the Samnites of the hills were constantly sweeping down from the mountains and ravaging the fields of the Campanians. The Romans willingly extended the assistance asked, as they saw here an opportunity for the extension of their influence and authority. Of the first of the series of wars into which Rome was thus precipitated we know but little, although Livy wrote a long, but unfortunately very unreliable, narration of it. In the midst of the struggle, Rome was confronted by a dangerous revolt of her Latin allies, and, leaving the war unfinished, turned her forces upon the insurgents.

Revolt of the Latin Cities (340-338 B.C.).—The strife between the Romans and their Latin allies was simply the old contest within the walls of the capital between the patricians and plebeians transferred to a larger arena. As the nobles

had oppressed the commons, so now both these orders united in the oppression of the Latins—the plebeians in their bettered circumstances forgetting the lessons of adversity. The Latin allies demanded that the lands acquired by conquests should be distributed among them as well as among Roman citizens. This was but just; for it was their blood and toil, as they represented, that had helped secure them. The Romans refused. All Latium rose in revolt against the injustice and tyranny of the oppressor.

At the foot of Mount Vesuvius the Romans, with the aid of their old enemies the Samnites, with whom they had negotiated a hasty treaty, defeated the Latins and their allies. By 338 B.C., the insurrection, that for a moment appeared so threatening to the life of the republic, had been subdued and most of the towns of Latium reconquered. They were treated with Roman severity. With two or three exceptions, they were denied local self-government; Rome was made the market whither the inhabitants of the different cities must come to buy and sell; a citizen of one city was strictly forbidden to contract a marriage with a woman living in another, or to have any dealings with the inhabitants of a stranger town. Thus was the Latin Confederacy broken up, and the various tribes or cantons of Latium from the position of allies reduced to that of subject states, with imperious and selfish Rome as their suzerain.

Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.).—In a few years after the close of the Latin contest, Rome was at war again with her old rival, the Samnites. During this second struggle a Roman army, while marching through a narrow defile, known as the Caudine Forks, fell into an ambushade, was captured, and sent beneath the yoke. The Etruscans now came to the aid of the Samnites against their old enemy, but were defeated by the Romans at the Vadimonian Lake (310 B.C.). Shortly after this the capital of the Samnites, Bonianum, was captured, and a treaty of peace was concluded which stripped the Samnites

of all the territory they had gained by conquest. Rome secured the new lands she had won, by means of fortified camps and colonies.

The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.).—It was not long before the Samnites were again in arms and engaged in their third struggle with Rome. They had formed a powerful coalition which embraced all the states of Italy. The Lucanians, Apulians, Greeks, and Samnites were joined in the south; while Umbrians, Etruscans, and Gauls threatened Rome from the north. Roman courage rose with the danger. At Sentinum the united armies of the league met with a most disastrous defeat (295 B.C.), and the power of the coalition was broken. One after another the states that had joined the alliance were chastised.

The Romans finally carried the war into Samnium. But there they were fighting with men at bay; and the consul Fabius Gurgus suffered a serious defeat. The Romans were on the point of depriving the unfortunate consul of his command, when his aged father, Fabius Maximus, offered to take the field as his son's lieutenant. In another engagement victory was won back to the side of the Romans. Gavius Pontius, the brave Samnite general who had spared the Roman army at the Caudine Forks, was taken prisoner, and, to the lasting disgrace of his captors, was thrust into the Mamertine Prison beneath the Capitoline and there beheaded. The Samnites were now soon reduced. In the treaty made with them they were allowed to retain Samnium and govern themselves, but Rome planted new colonies and established strong fortresses to watch their frontiers.

The Gauls were next routed at the Vadimonian Lake; the Etruscan power was then broken, and several of the cities of Etruria razed to the ground; in the south the Lucanians were crushed and all the important Greek cities of Southern Italy, save Tarentum, were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

War with Pyrrhus.—Tarentum was one of the most noted of the Hellenic cities of Magna Græcia. It was a seaport on the Calabrian coast, and had grown opulent through the extended trade of its merchants. The capture of some Roman vessels, and an insult offered to an envoy of the republic by the Tarentines, led to a declaration of war against them by the Roman Senate. The Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, cousin of Alexander the Great, who had an ambition to build up such an empire in the West as his famous kinsman had established in the East, responded to their entreaties, and crossed over into Italy with a small army of Greek mercenaries and twenty war-elephants. He organized and drilled the effeminate Tarentines, and soon felt prepared to face the Romans.

The hostile armies met at Heraclea. It is said that when Pyrrhus, who had underestimated his foe, observed the skill which the Romans evinced in forming their lines of battle, he exclaimed, in admiration, "In war, at least, these men are not barbarians." The battle was won for Pyrrhus by his war-elephants, the sight of which, being new to the Romans, caused them to flee from the field in dismay. But Pyrrhus had lost thousands of his bravest troops. Victories gained by such losses in a country where he could not recruit his army, he saw clearly, meant final defeat. As he looked over the battle-field he is said to have turned to his companions and remarked, "Another such victory and I must return to Epirus alone." He noticed also, and not without appreciating its significance, that the wounds of the Roman soldiers killed in the action were all in front. "Had I such soldiers," said he, "I should soon be master of the world." *

The prudence of the victorious Pyrrhus led him to send to

* Beneath the spoils which he hung as an offering in the Temple of Jupiter at Tarentum he placed this inscription:

"Those that had never been vanquished yet, Great Father of Olympus,
Those have I vanquished in the fight, and they have vanquished me."

the Romans proposals of peace. The embassy was headed by his chief minister, Cineas, whose eloquence, as Pyrrhus himself often said, had won him more victories than his own sword. When the Senate hesitated, its resolution was fixed by the eloquence of the aged Appius: "Rome," exclaimed he, "shall never treat with a victorious foe." The ambassadors were obliged to return to Pyrrhus unsuccessful in their mission. It was at this time that Cineas, in answer to some inquiries of his master respecting the Romans, drew the celebrated parallels that likened their Senate to an assembly of kings, and war against such a people to an attack upon another Hydra.

Pyrrhus, according to the Roman story-tellers, who most lavishly embellished this chapter of their history, was not more successful in attempts at bribery than in the arts of negotiation. Attempting by large offers of gold to win Fabricius, who had been intrusted by the Senate with an important embassy, the sturdy old Roman replied, "Poverty, with an honest name, is more to be desired than wealth."

Another story relates how, when the physician of Pyrrhus went to Fabricius and offered to poison his enemy, he instantly put him in chains, and sent him back to his master for punishment. The sequel of this story is that Pyrrhus conceived such an exalted opinion of the Roman sense of honor that he permitted the prisoners in his hands to go to the capital to attend a festival, with no other security for their return than their simple promise, and that not a single man broke his word.

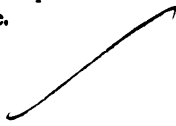
After a second victory, as disastrous as his first, gained at Asculum, in Apulia, Pyrrhus crossed over into Sicily, to aid the Grecians there in their struggle with the Carthaginians. At first he was everywhere successful; but finally fortune turned against him, and he was glad to escape from the island. Recrossing the straits into Italy, he once more engaged the Romans; but at the battle of Beneventum suffered a disastrous and final defeat at the hands of the consul Curius Dentatus (274 B.C.). Leaving a sufficient force to garrison Tarentum,

the baffled and disappointed king set sail for Epirus.* He had scarcely embarked before Tarentum surrendered to the Romans (272 B.C.). This ended the struggles for the mastery of Italy. Rome was now mistress of all the peninsula south of the Arnus and the Rubicon. It was now her care to consolidate these possessions, and to fasten her hold upon them, by means of a perfect network of colonies† and military roads.

* "The glory of his life was ended; the two or three years that remained of it were passed in hopeless enterprises. One day he was proclaimed King of Macedon, and the next he lost his kingdom. Then he attacked Sparta, and nearly took it. Lastly, he assaulted Argos, and was killed by a tile thrown by a woman from the roof of a house."—Liddell's "History of Rome," p. 246.

† "Colonies were not all of the same character. They must be distinguished into two classes—the colonies of Roman citizens and the Latin colonies. The colonies of Roman citizens consisted usually of three hundred men of approved military experience, who went forth with their families to occupy conquered cities of no great magnitude, but which were important as military positions, being usually on the sea-coast. These three hundred families formed a sort of patrician caste, while the old inhabitants sank into the condition formerly occupied by the plebeians at Rome. The heads of these families retained all their rights as Roman citizens, and might repair to Rome to vote in the popular assemblies. When in early Roman history we hear of the revolt of a colony, the meaning seems to be that the natives rose against the colonists and expelled them. Hence it is that we hear of colonists being sent more than once to the same place, as to Antium."—Liddell's "History of Rome," p. 255.

The Latin colonies, numbering thirty at the time of the Second Punic War, were daughters of the different Latin towns of Latium. Many citizens of Rome joined these colonies, but all members of such were without any political rights at the capital. In a word, these Latin communities were simply allies of Rome.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

(264-241 B.C.)

The City of Carthage.—Foremost among the cities founded by the Phœnicians upon the different shores of the Mediterranean was Carthage, upon the northern coast of Africa. The city is thought to have had its beginnings in a small trading factory, established late in the ninth century B.C., about one hundred years before the founding of Rome. The ground upon which it stood was leased at first of the native tribes. The favorable location of the colony, upon one of the best harbors of the African coast, gave the city a vast and lucrative commerce. At the period which we have now reached it had grown into an imperial city, covering, with its gardens and suburbs, a district twenty-three miles in circuit. It could not have contained less than 1,000,000 inhabitants. A commercial enterprise like that of the mother city, Tyre, and exactions from subject cities and states—three hundred Libyan cities acknowledged the suzerainty of Carthage and paid tribute into its treasury—had rendered it enormously wealthy. In the third century before our era it was probably the richest city in the world.

The Carthaginian Empire.—About the fifth century B.C., the Carthaginians not only ceased to pay ground-rent to the Libyans, but, subjugating the surrounding tribes, forced tribute from them. The other Phœnician factories and cities upon the different shores of the Western Mediterranean gradually acknowledged the supremacy of Carthage. Pursuing almost exactly the policy of Rome, she secured all newly gained terri-

tory by the establishment of military colonies. But, while exhibiting the martial spirit of the Romans, the Carthaginians displayed also the Phœnician fondness for commercial enterprise. Carthage was simply another Tyre. Her history up to the beginning of her fatal struggle with Rome is but a repetition of the story of the great Phœnician capital. She became mistress and queen of the Western Mediterranean. By the third century B.C., through peaceful colonization or by force of arms, she held sway over all the northern coast of Africa from the Greater Syrtis to the Pillars of Hercules, and possessed the larger part of Sicily, as well as Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, Southern Spain, and scores of little islands scattered here and there in the neighboring seas. With all its shores ~~dotted~~ with her colonies and fortresses, and swept in every direction by the Carthaginian war-galleys, the Western Mediterranean had become a "Phœnician lake," in which, as the Carthaginians boasted, no one dared wash his hands without their permission.

Carthaginian Government and Religion.—The government of Carthage, like that of Rome, was republican in form. Corresponding to the Roman consuls, two magistrates, called Sufetes, stood at the head of the State. The Senate was composed of the heads of the leading families: its duties and powers were very like those of the Roman Senate. So well-balanced was the constitution, and so prudent was its administration, that six hundred years of Carthaginian history exhibited not a single revolution.

The religion of the Carthaginians was the old Canaanitish worship of Baal, or the Sun. To Moloch—another name for the fire-god—"who rejoiced in human victims and in parents' tears," they offered human sacrifices.

Rome and Carthage Compared.—These two great republics, which for more than five centuries had been slowly extending

their limits and maturing their powers upon the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, were now about to begin one of the most memorable struggles of all antiquity—a duel that was to last, with every vicissitude of fortune, for nearly one hundred years. As was the case in the contest between Athens and Sparta, so now the two rival cities, with their allies and dependencies, were very nearly matched in strength and resources. The Romans, it is true, were almost destitute of a navy; while the Carthaginians had the largest and most splendidly equipped fleet that ever patrolled the waters of the Mediterranean. But although the Carthaginians were superior to the Romans in naval warfare, they were greatly their inferiors in land encounters. The Carthaginian territory, moreover, was widely scattered, embracing extended coasts and isolated islands; while the Roman possessions were compact, and confined to a single and easily defended peninsula. Again, the Carthaginian armies were formed chiefly of mercenaries, while those of Rome were recruited very largely from the ranks of the Roman people. And then the subject states of Carthage were mostly of another race, language, and religion from their Phœnician conquerors, and were ready, upon the first disaster to the ruling city, to drop away from their allegiance; while the Latin allies and Italian dependencies of Rome were close kindred to her in race and religion, and so, through natural impulse, for the most part remained loyal to her during even the darkest periods of her struggle with her rival.

The Beginning of the War.—Lying between Italy and the coast of Africa is the large island of Sicily. It is in easy sight of the former, and its southernmost point is only ninety miles from the latter. At the commencement of the First Punic War, the Carthaginians held possession of all the island save a strip of the eastern coast which was under the sway of the Greek city of Syracuse. The Greeks and Carthaginians had carried on an almost uninterrupted struggle through two cen-

turies for the control of the island. The Romans had not yet set foot upon it. But it was destined to become the scene of the most terrible encounters between the armaments of the two rivals. Pyrrhus had foreseen it all. As he withdrew from the island, he said, "What a fine battle-field we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians."

Hostilities were brought about in the following way. During the war with Pyrrhus, some Campanians, who had been serving as mercenaries in the army of the King of Syracuse, while returning to Italy, conceived the project of seizing the town of Messina, on the Sicilian Straits. They killed the citizens, intrenched themselves in the place, and commenced to annoy the surrounding country with their marauding bands. Hiero, King of Syracuse, besieged the ruffians in their stronghold. The Mamertines, or "Sons of Mars," for thus they termed themselves, appealed to the Romans for aid, basing their claims to assistance upon the alleged fact of common descent from the war-god. Now, the Romans had just punished a similar band of Campanian robbers who had seized Rhegium, on the Italian side of the channel. To turn about now and lend aid to the Sicilian band would be the greatest inconsistency. But in case they did not give the assistance asked, it was certain that the Mamertines would look to the Carthaginians for succor; and so Messina would come into the hands of their rivals.

The appeal of the Mamertines was laid before the Roman Senate. Shrinking from the responsibility of taking a step which it was easy to foresee must involve tremendous consequences, and commit Rome to a policy of conquests out of Italy, the Senate referred the matter to the popular assembly. Influenced by ambitious leaders, eager for booty, and allured by promise of fresh lands for apportionment, the people voted for war. An army was speedily gathered and placed under the command of Appius Claudius, and was borne by ships, furnished by the Greek cities, across the narrow straits to

Messana. The Romans had passed the Rubicon. That act committed them to a career of foreign conquest destined to continue until their armies had made the circuit of the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, through the intervention of the Carthaginians, the Syracusans and Mamertines had been induced to conclude a treaty of peace, and the Carthaginians had been allowed to place a garrison in Messana. With the matter thus composed, there was now no reason why the Romans should give any further attention to it. But the consul and the army were both bent on war. Claudius sent an embassy to Messana, to persuade the Mamertines to drive out the Carthaginians and come into an alliance with the Romans. This was done. The Syracusans and Carthaginians, old enemies and rivals though they had been, joined their forces against the insolent new-comers. The allies were completely defeated in the first battle, and the Roman army obtained a sure foothold upon the island.

In the following year both consuls were placed at the head of formidable armies for the conquest of Sicily. A large portion of the island was quickly overrun, and many of the cities threw off their allegiance to Syracuse and Carthage, and became allies of Rome. Hiero, seeing that he was upon the losing side, deserted the cause of the Carthaginians, and formed an alliance with the Romans, and ever after remained their firm friend. The aid which he rendered the Romans on different occasions during their struggle with Carthage was timely and substantial.

After the forming of this alliance the Romans laid siege to Agrigentum, one of the most important of the Sicilian cities yet remaining in the hands of the Carthaginians. This place was captured after a siege of seven months. The Carthaginians were now shut up in the strongly fortified cities of Eryx and Panormus.

The Romans Build their First Fleet.—Their experience during the past campaigns had shown the Romans that if they were to cope successfully with the Carthaginians they must be able to meet them upon the sea as well as upon the land. Not only did the Carthaginian ships annoy the Sicilian coast towns which were already in the hands of the Romans; but they even made descents upon the shores of Italy, ravaged the fields and villages, and sailed away with their booty before pursuit was possible. To guard their shores and ward off these attacks, the Romans had no fleet; like the ancient Egyptians, they hated the sea. Their Greek and Etruscan allies were, indeed, maritime peoples, and possessed considerable fleets, which were at the disposal of the Romans. But these vessels were merely triremes, galleys with three banks of oars; while the Carthaginian ships were quinqueremes, or vessels with five rows of oars. The former were worthless to cope with the latter, such an advantage did these have in their greater weight and height. So the Romans determined to build a fleet of quinqueremes.

Now it so happened that, a little while before, a Carthaginian galley had been wrecked upon the shore of Southern Italy. This served as a pattern. It is said that within the almost incredibly short space of sixty days a growing forest was converted into a fleet of one hundred and twenty war-galleys. While the ships were building, the Roman soldiers were being trained in the duties of sailors by practising in rowing, while sitting in lines on tiers of benches built on the land. With the shore ringing with the sounds of the hurried work upon the galleys, and crowded with the groups of "make-believe rowers," the scene must have been a somewhat animated as well as ludicrous one. Yet it all meant very serious business.

The First Sea-fight.—The consul Duillius was intrusted with the command of the fleet. He met the Carthaginian squadron near the city and promontory of Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily (260 B.C.). A single precaution gave the

victory to the Romans. Distrusting their ability to match the skill of their enemies in manœuvring their ships, they had provided each with a drawbridge, over thirty feet in length, and wide enough for two persons to pass over it abreast. It was raised and lowered by means of pulleys attached to the mast. The Carthaginian galleys bore down swiftly upon the Roman ships, thinking to pierce and sink with their brazen beaks the clumsy-looking structures. The bridges alone saved the Roman fleet from destruction. As soon as a Carthaginian ship came near enough to a Roman vessel, the gangway was allowed to fall upon the approaching galley; and the long spike with which the end was armed, piercing the deck, instantly pinned the vessels together. The Roman soldiers, rushing along the bridge, were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with their enemies, in which species of encounter the former were sure of an easy victory. Fifty of the Carthaginian galleys were captured; the remainder—there were one hundred and thirty ships in the fleet—wisely refusing to rush into the terrible and fatal embrace in which they had seen their companions locked and crushed, turned their prows in flight.

The Romans had gained their first naval victory. The joy at Rome was unbounded. It inspired, in the more sanguine, splendid visions of maritime command and glory. The Mediterranean should speedily become a Roman lake, in which no vessel might float without the consent of Rome. Duillius was honored with a magnificent triumph, and the Senate ordained that, in passing through the city to his home at night, he should always be escorted with torches and music. In the Forum was raised a splendid memorial column, “adorned with the brazen beaks of the vessels which his wise ignorance and his clumsy skill had enabled him to capture.”

Naval Battle of Ecnomus.—The results of the naval engagement of Mylæ encouraged the Romans to push the war with redoubled energy. Almost all Sicily was soon in their hands,

and forces were landed in Sardinia and Corsica, to effect the subjugation of those islands. The Roman fleet was increased by a large number of vessels, and placed under the command of the two consuls, Atillius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso, who were ordered to carry the war into Africa. They crept with their armament, embracing three hundred and thirty galleys, along the southern shore of Sicily, to the headland of Ecnomus, where they encountered the squadrons of the enemy. The Carthaginians had drained every resource to gather a fleet that should be able effectually to guard the passage to Africa, knowing well what the carrying of war into their African dependencies meant. Their armament numbered three hundred and fifty ships of war. It is estimated that the united fleets bore 300,000 men, the largest number that ever fought together upon the sea. The Carthaginian fleet was almost annihilated (256 B.C.).

Regulus.—Nothing now hindered the Romans from making a descent upon the African coast. They disembarked near Carthage. The country, rich in gardens and villas, was ravaged far and wide, and the capital itself was threatened. The towns fell an easy prey to the Romans, for the reason that the Carthaginians, as a precaution against their revolt, had forbidden them to erect defences.

The consul Manlius now received orders from the Senate to return to Rome with the prisoners and the booty already gathered. Regulus was left with scarcely 16,000-men to finish the war. At first he was everywhere successful. The number of towns he captured is stated at two hundred. He sent word to Rome that he had "sealed up the gates of Carthage with terror."

Desiring the credit of bringing the war to a close, Regulus hastened to enter into negotiations of peace with the Carthaginians before his successor should come to assume command; but so insolent, ungenerous, and cruel were the terms he pro-

posed that the Carthaginians, indignantly refusing them, resolved to continue the war. They intrusted the command of their armies to an able Spartan general, named Xanthippus, who, with a small but disciplined band of Lacedæmonians, had come to offer aid to the Carthaginians and to seek fortune for himself. With the aid of the Carthaginian war-elephants he inflicted a crushing defeat upon Regulus, and made him a prisoner. A fleet which was sent to bear away the remnants of the shattered army was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Sicily, and the shores of the island were strewn with the wrecks of between two and three hundred ships, and with the bodies of 100,000 men.

Loss of a Second Roman Fleet.—Undismayed by the terrible disaster that had overtaken the transport fleet, the Romans set to work to build another. In the short space of three months a squadron of two hundred and twenty ships was afloat and manned. After capturing the strong fortress of Panormus, the fleet sailed for the coast of Africa, and, although it secured some booty, yet it accomplished nothing of importance, and, after experiencing great dangers in the unknown whirlpools of the Syrtis, turned back to Italy. When already in sight of the peninsula, off the headland of Palinurus, a terrible storm swept down upon the sea, and one hundred and fifty of the galleys were sunk or dashed to pieces upon the rocks. The visions of naval supremacy awakened among the Romans by the splendid victories of Mylæ and Ecnomus were thus suddenly dispelled by these two successive and appalling disasters that had overtaken their armaments.

The Battle of Panormus.—For a few years the Romans refrained from tempting again the hostile powers of the sea. Sicily became the battle-ground where the war was continued, although with but little spirit on either side, until the arrival in the island of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal (251 B.C.).

He brought with him one hundred and forty elephants trained in war. Of all the instruments of death which the Roman soldiers were accustomed to face, none in the history of the legionaries inspired them with such uncontrollable terror as these "wild beasts," as they termed them. The furious rage with which these monsters, themselves almost invulnerable to the darts of the enemy, swept down the opposing ranks with their trunks, and tossed and trampled to pieces the bodies of their victims, was indeed well calculated to inspire a most exaggerated dread.

Beneath the walls of Panormus, the consul Metellus drew Hasdrubal into an engagement. He checked the terrific charge of the war-elephants by discharges of arrows dipped in flaming pitch, which caused the frightened animals to rush back upon and crush through the disordered ranks of the Carthaginians. The result was a complete victory for the Romans. After the battle the Romans induced the drivers of the elephants, which were roaming over the field in a sort of panic, to capture and quiet the creatures. Once in captivity, they were floated across the Sicilian Straits on huge rafts, and to the number of twenty graced the triumphal procession of Metellus. After having been led through the Forum and along the Via Sacra, they were conducted to the Circus, and there slain in the presence of the assembled multitudes.

Regulus and the Carthaginian Embassy.—The result of the battle of Panormus dispirited the Carthaginians. They sent an embassy to Rome, to negotiate for peace, or, if that could not be reached, to effect an exchange of prisoners. Among the commissioners was Regulus, who since his capture, five years before, had been held a prisoner in Africa. Before setting out from Carthage he had promised to return if the embassy were unsuccessful. For the sake of his own release, the Carthaginians supposed he would counsel peace, or at least urge an exchange of prisoners. But it is related that upon

arrival at Rome he counselled war instead of peace, at the same time revealing to the Senate the enfeebled condition of Carthage. As to the exchange of prisoners he said, "Let those who have surrendered when they ought to have died, die in the land which has witnessed their disgrace." Referring to himself, he added, "I am old ; and in the short period of life still remaining to me can do my country little service, while the generals who would be exchanged for me are still hale and vigorous."

The Roman Senate, following his counsel, rejected all the proposals of the embassy ; and Regulus, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his wife and friends, turned away from Rome, and set out for Carthage to bear such fate as he well knew the Carthaginians, in their disappointment and anger, would be sure to visit upon him.

The tradition goes on to tell how, upon his arrival at Carthage, he was confined in a cask driven full of spikes, and then left to die of starvation and pain. This part of the tale has been doubted (by Niebuhr), and the finest touches of the other portions are supposed to have been added by the poets. "It is," says a competent critic, "an ideal picture of a brave man bearing up under a great misfortune, and striving as best he could to wipe out disgrace ; and as an ideal picture we are content to let it pass."

Loss of Two Roman Fleets.—After the failure of the Carthaginian embassy, the war went on by land and by sea with varying vicissitudes. The Carthaginians still held two strong fortresses in Sicily—Lilybæum and Drepana, both situated in the southwestern part of the island, very near to Africa. For ten years the Romans pressed in vain the siege of the former place. During this period one of the consuls, Claudius, a most incompetent and arrogant man, resolved, against all prudent advice, to make a naval attack upon Drepana. He there met with an overwhelming defeat. Almost a hundred vessels were lost. The disaster caused the greatest alarm at Rome. Su-

perstition increased the fears of the people. It was reported that just before the battle, when the auspices were being taken, and the sacred chickens would not eat, Claudius had given orders to have them thrown into the sea, irreverently remarking, "At any rate, they shall drink." Imagination was free to depict what further evils the offended gods might inflict upon the Roman state.

The gloomiest forebodings might have found justification in subsequent events. The other consul just now met with a great disaster. He was proceeding along the southern coast of Sicily with a squadron of eight hundred merchantmen and over one hundred war-galleys, the former loaded with grain for the army before Lilybæum. The Carthaginian admiral, receiving information of the approach of the Roman consul, set his fleet in motion, in order to intercept him. When the transports sighted the Carthaginian squadron, they sought refuge from the heavy war-ships by running in close to the shore. While they were in this position, a severe storm arose. The experienced Phœnician sailors stood out to sea, and weathered the tempest in safety; while the Roman vessels were beaten to pieces upon the rocks. Not a single ship escaped. The coast for miles was strewn with broken planks and bodies, and heaped with vast windrows of corn cast up by the waves.

Close of the First Punic War.—The war had now lasted for fifteen years. Four Roman fleets had been destroyed, three of which had been sunk or broken to pieces by storms. Of the fourteen hundred vessels that had been lost, seven hundred were war-galleys—all large and costly quinqueremes. Only one hundred of these had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the remainder were a sacrifice to the malign and hostile power of the waves. Such successive blows from an invisible hand were enough to blanch the faces even of the sturdy Romans. Neptune manifestly denied to the "Children of Mars" the realm of the sea.

It was impossible, for the six years following the last disaster, to infuse any spirit into the struggle. In 247 B.C., Hamilcar Barcas, the father of the great Hannibal, assumed the command of the Carthaginian forces, and for several years conducted the war with great ability on the island of Sicily, even making Rome tremble for the safety of her Italian possessions.

Once more the Romans determined to commit their cause to the element that had been so unfriendly to them. A fleet of two hundred vessels was built and equipped, but entirely by private subscription; for the Senate feared that public sentiment would not sustain them in levying a tax for fitting up another costly armament as a sacrifice to the insatiable Neptune. This people's squadron, as we may call it, was intrusted to the command of the consul Catulus. He met the Carthaginian fleet, under the command of the admiral Hanno, near the Ægatian islands, and inflicted upon it a crushing defeat.

The Carthaginians now sued for peace. The terms proposed by the Romans were at first so harsh that Hamilcar rejected them with just indignation. But finally a treaty was arranged, the terms of which required that Carthage should give up the island of Sicily, surrender all her prisoners, and pay an indemnity of 3200 talents (about \$4,000,000), one third of which was to be paid down, and the balance in ten yearly payments. Thus ended (241 B.C.), after a continuance of twenty-four years, the first great struggle between Carthage and Rome.



CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

(218-201 B.C.)

Rome between the First and Second Punic Wars.

The First Roman Province.—The First Punic War lasted twenty-four years. During a period of almost exactly the same length—that is, for the twenty-three years that followed the close of the first struggle—the two rivals strained every power and taxed every resource in preparation for a renewal of the contest.

The Romans settled the affairs of Sicily, organizing it as a province of the republic. This island was the first territory beyond the limits of Italy that Rome had conquered, and the Sicilian the first of Roman provinces. But as the imperial city extended her conquests, her provincial possessions increased in number and size until they formed at last a perfect cordon about the Mediterranean. Each province was usually governed by an officer bearing the title of prætor, sent out from the capital, and paid an annual tribute or tax to Rome.

Rome Acquires Sardinia and Corsica.—The first acquisition by the Romans of lands beyond the peninsula seems to have created in them an insatiable ambition for foreign conquests. They soon found a pretext for seizing the island of Sardinia, the most ancient and, after Sicily, the most prized of the possessions of the Carthaginians. An insurrection breaking out upon the island, the Carthaginians were moving to suppress it, when the Romans insolently commanded them not only to desist from their military preparations (pretending that they be-

lieved them a threat against Rome), but to surrender Sardinia, and, moreover, to pay a fine of 1200 talents (\$1,500,000). Carthage, exhausted as she was, could do nothing but comply. The meanness and perfidy of the Romans in this matter made more bitter and implacable, if that were possible, the Carthaginian hatred of the Roman race. Sardinia, in connection with Corsica, which was also seized, was formed into a Roman province. With her hands upon these islands, the authority of Rome in the western or Tuscan Sea was supreme.

The Illyrian Corsairs are Punished.—In a more legitimate way the Romans extended their influence over the seas that wash the eastern shores of Italy. For a long time the Adriatic and Ionian waters had been infested with Illyrian pirates, who issued from the roadsteads of the northwestern coasts of the former sea. These buccaneers not only scoured the seas for merchantmen, but troubled the Hellenic towns along the shores of Greece, and were even so bold as to make descents upon the Italian coasts. The Roman fleet chased these corsairs from the Adriatic, and captured several of their strongholds. Rome now assumed a sort of protectorate over the Greek cities of the Adriatic coasts. This was her first step towards final supremacy in Macedonia and Greece.

War with the Gauls.—In the north, during this same period, Roman authority was extended from the Apennines and the Rubicon to the foot of the Alps. Alarmed at the advance of the Romans, who were pushing northward their great military road, called the Flaminian Way, and also settling with discharged soldiers and needy citizens the tracts of frontier land wrested some time before from the Gauls, the Boii, a tribe of that race, stirred up all the Gallic peoples already in Italy, besides their kinsmen who were yet beyond the mountains, for an assault upon Rome. Intelligence of this movement among the northern tribes threw all Italy into a fever of excitement. At

Rome the terror was great ; for not yet had died out of memory what the city had once suffered at the hands of the ancestors of these same barbarians that were now again gathering their hordes for sack and pillage. An ancient prediction, found in the Sibylline books, declared that a portion of Roman territory must needs be occupied by Gauls. Hoping sufficiently to fulfil the prophecy and satisfy Fate, the Roman Senate caused two Gauls to be buried alive in one of the public squares of the capital.

Meanwhile the barbarians had advanced into Etruria, ravaging the country as they moved southward. After gathering a large amount of booty, they were carrying this back to a place of safety, when they were surrounded by the Roman armies at Telamon, and almost annihilated (225 B.C.). The Romans, taking advantage of this victory, pushed on into the plains of the Po, captured the city which is now known as Milan, and extended their authority to the foot-hills of the Alps. To guard the new territory, two military colonies, Placentia and Cremona, were established upon the opposite banks of the Po.

Carthage between the First and Second Punic Wars.

The Truceless War.—Scarcely had peace been concluded with Rome at the end of the First Punic War, before Carthage was plunged into a still deadlier struggle, which for a time threatened her very existence. The mercenary troops, upon their return from Sicily, revolted, on account of not receiving their pay. Their appeal to the native tribes of Africa was answered by a general uprising throughout the dependencies of Carthage. The extent of the revolt shows how hateful and hated was the rule of the great capital over her subject states.

The suppression of the insurrection was at first committed to Hanno, but so incompetent did he show himself that the command was transferred to his rival Hamilcar. It was a war between master and slave, and, as is always true of such strug-

gles, was unspeakably bitter and cruel. It is known in history as "The Truceless War." The barbarous Libyans mutilated in a terrible manner and by wholesale the prisoners in their hands; and Hamilcar retaliated by giving his captives to the elephants to be trampled to death. At one time Carthage was the only city remaining in the hands of the government. But the genius of Hamilcar at last triumphed. The Libyans were overpowered and simply exterminated. Many were crucified, or put to death in other ways with every refinement of cruelty.

Hamilcar in Spain.—It was during the Truceless War that the revolt broke out in Sardinia, with the outcome of which we are already familiar. Hamilcar Barcas determined to repair the loss of Sicily and Sardinia by new conquests in Spain. He crossed over into that country, and for nine years devoted his commanding genius to organizing the different Iberian tribes into a compact state, and in developing the rich gold and silver mines of the southern part of the peninsula. He fell in battle 228 B.C.

Hamilcar Barcas was the greatest general that up to this time the Carthaginian race had produced. Genius is seldom transmitted; but in the Barcine family the rule was broken, and the rare genius of Hamilcar reappeared in his sons, whom he himself, it is said, was fond of calling the "lion's brood." Hannibal, the oldest, was only nineteen at the time of his father's death, and being thus too young to assume command, Hasdrubal,* the son-in-law of Hamilcar, was chosen to succeed him. He carried out the unfinished plans of Hamilcar, extended and consolidated the Carthaginian power in Spain, and upon the western coast founded New Carthage as the centre and capital of the newly acquired territory. The native tribes were conciliated rather than conquered. The Barcine family knew how to rule as well as how to fight.

* Not to be confounded with Hannibal's own brother Hasdrubal. See p. 297.

Hannibal's Vow.—Upon the death of Hasdrubal, which occurred 221 B.C., Hannibal, now twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous voice of the army called to be their leader. When a child of nine years he had been led by his father to the altar; and there, with his hands upon the sacrifice, the little boy had sworn eternal hatred to the Roman race. He was driven on to his gigantic undertakings and to his hard fate, not only by the restless fires of his warlike genius, but, as he himself declared, by the sacred obligations of a vow that could not be broken.

Hannibal Attacks Saguntum.—In two years Hannibal extended the Carthaginian power to the Ebro. Saguntum, a Greek city upon the east coast of Spain, alone remained unsubdued. The Romans, who were jealously watching affairs in the peninsula, had entered into an alliance with this city, and taken it, with other Greek cities in that quarter of the Mediterranean, under their protection. Hannibal, although he well knew that an attack upon this place would precipitate hostilities with Rome, laid siege to it in the spring of 219 B.C. He was eager for the renewal of the old contest. The Roman Senate sent messengers to him forbidding his making war upon a city which was a friend and ally of the Roman people. Directing the envoys to bear their message to the Carthaginian Senate, he continued the siege, and, after an investment of eight months, gained possession of the town.

The Romans now sent commissioners to Carthage to demand of the Senate that they should give up Hannibal to them, and by so doing repudiate the act of their general. The Carthaginians hesitated. Then Quintus Fabius, chief of the embassy, gathering up his toga, said: "I carry here peace and war; choose, men of Carthage, which ye will have." "Give us whichever ye will," was the reply. "War, then," said Fabius, dropping his toga. The "die was now cast; and the arena was cleared for the foremost man of his race and his time,

perhaps the mightiest military genius of any race and of any time." *

The Second Punic War.

Hannibal Begins his March.—The Carthaginian empire was now stirred with preparations for the impending struggle. Hannibal was the life and soul of every movement. He planned and executed. The Carthaginian Senate acquiesced in and tardily confirmed his acts. His bold plan was to cross the Pyrenees and Alps and descend upon Rome from the north. He secured the provinces in Spain and Africa by placing garrisons of Iberians in Africa and of Libyans in the peninsula. Ambassadors were sent among the Gallic tribes on both sides of the Alps, to invite them to be ready to join the army that would soon set out from Spain.

With these preparations completed, Hannibal left New Carthage early in the spring of 218 B.C., with an army numbering about 100,000 men, and including thirty-seven war elephants. A hostile country lay between him and the Pyrenees. Through the warlike tribes that resisted his march he forced his way to the foot of the mountains that guard the northern frontier of Spain. More than 20,000 of his soldiers were lost in this part of his march.

Passage of the Pyrenees and the Rhone.—Leaving a strong force to garrison the newly conquered lands, and discharging 10,000 more of his men who had begun to murmur because of their hardships, he pushed on with the remainder across the Pyrenees, and led them down into the Valley of the Rhone. The Gauls attempted to dispute the passage of the river, but they were routed, and the army was ferried across the stream in native boats and on rudely constructed rafts.

* Smith's "Carthage and Rome," p. 114.

Passage of the Alps.—Hannibal now followed up the course of the Rhone, and then one of its eastern tributaries, the Isère, until he reached the foot-hills of the Alps, just beneath the pass of the Little St. Bernard. Nature and man joined to oppose the passage. The season was already far advanced—it was October—and snow was falling upon the higher portions of the trail. Day after day the army toiled painfully up the dangerous path. In places the narrow way had to be cut wider for the monstrous bodies of the elephants. Often avalanches of stone were hurled upon the trains by the hostile bands that held possession of the heights above. At last the summit was gained, and the shivering army looked down into the warm haze of the Italian plains. The sight alone was enough to rouse the drooping spirits of the soldiers; but Hannibal stirred them to enthusiasm by addressing them with these words: “Ye are standing upon the Acropolis of Italy; yonder lies Rome.” The army began its descent, and at length, after toils and losses equalled only by those of the ascent, its thinned battalions issued from the defiles of the mountains upon the plains of the Po. Of the fifty thousand men and more with which Hannibal had begun the passage, barely half that number had survived the march, and these “looked more like phantoms than men.”

Battles of the Ticinus, the Trebia, and of Lake Trasimenus.—The Romans had not the remotest idea of Hannibal's plans. With war determined upon, the Senate had sent one of the consuls, L. Sempronius Longus, with an army into Africa by the way of Sicily; while the other, Publius Cornelius Scipio, they had directed to lead another army into Spain.

While the Senate were watching the movements of these expeditions, they were startled with the intelligence that Hannibal, instead of being in Spain, had crossed the Alps and was among the Gauls upon the Po. Sempronius was hastily recalled from his attempt upon Africa, to the defence of Italy.

Scipio, on his way to Spain, had touched at Massilia, and there learned of the movements of Hannibal. He turned back, hurried into Northern Italy, and took command of the levies there. The cavalry of the two armies met upon the banks of the Ticinus, a tributary of the Po. The Romans were driven from the field by the fierce onset of the Numidian horsemen. Scipio now awaited the arrival of the other consular army, which was hurrying up through Italy by forced marches.

In the battle of the Trebia the united armies of the two consuls were almost annihilated. The refugees that escaped from the field sought shelter behind the walls of Placentia. The Gauls, who had been waiting to see to which side fortune would incline, now flocked to the standard of Hannibal, and hailed him as their deliverer.

The spring following the victory at the Trebia, Hannibal led his army, now recruited by many Gauls, across the Apennines, and moved southward. At Lake Trasimenus he entrapped the Romans under Flaminius in a mountain defile, where, bewildered by a fog that filled the valley, the greater part of the army were slaughtered, and the consul himself was slain.

Hannibal's Policy.—The way to Rome was now open. Believing that Hannibal would march directly upon the capital, the Senate caused the bridges that spanned the Tiber to be destroyed, and appointed Fabius Maximus dictator. But Hannibal did not deem it wise to throw his troops against the walls of Rome. Crossing the Apennines, he touched the Adriatic at Picenum, whence he sent messages to Carthage of his wonderful achievements. Here he rested his army after a march that has few parallels in the annals of war.

In one respect only had events disappointed Hannibal's expectations. He had thought that all the states of Italy were, like the Gauls, ready to revolt from Rome at the first opportunity that might offer itself. But not a single city had thus far proved unfaithful to Rome. The aid which Hannibal ex-

pected from the Italians, and which he invited by the kindest treatment of those who fell into his hands as prisoners, he was destined never to receive.

Fabius the Delayer.—The dictator Fabius, at the head of four new legions, started in pursuit of Hannibal, who was again on the move. The fate of Rome was in the hands of Fabius. Should he risk a battle and lose it, the destiny of the capital would be sealed. He determined to adopt a more prudent policy—to follow and annoy the Carthaginian army, but to refuse all proffers of battle. Thus time might be gained for raising a new army and perfecting measures for the public defence. In every possible way Hannibal endeavored to draw his enemy into an engagement. He ravaged the fields far and wide and fired the homesteads of the Italians, in order to force Fabius to fight in their defence. The soldiers of the dictator began to murmur. They called him the *Cunctator*, or “Delayer.” They even accused him of treachery to the cause of Rome. But nothing moved him from the steady pursuit of the policy which he clearly saw was the only prudent one to follow. Hannibal marched through Samnium, desolating the country as he went, and then descended upon the rich plains of Campania. Fabius followed him closely, and from the mountains which he would not allow his soldiers to leave they were obliged to watch, with such calmness as they might command, the devastations of the enemy going on beneath their very eyes. They besought Fabius to lead them down upon the plain, where they might at least strike a blow in defence of their homes. Fabius was unmoved by their clamor. He planned, however, to entrap Hannibal. Knowing that the enemy could not support themselves in Campania through the approaching winter, but must recross the mountains into Apulia, he placed a strong guard in the pass by which they must retreat, and then quietly awaited their movements. Hannibal resorted to stratagem to draw away the defenders of the mountain path.

To the horns of two thousand oxen he caused burning torches to be fastened, and then these animals were driven one night up among the hills that overhung the pass. These creatures, frantic with pain and fright, rushed along the ranges that bordered the pass, and led the watchers there to believe that the Carthaginians were forcing their way over the hills in a grand rush. Straightway the guardians of the pass left their position, to intercept the flying enemy. While they were pursuing the cattle, Hannibal marched quietly with all his booty through the unguarded defile, and escaped into Samnium.

The Policy of Fabius Vindicated.—The escape of the Carthaginian army caused the smothered discontent with Fabius and his policy to break out into open opposition, both among the citizens at the capital and the soldiers in the camp. Minucius, commander of the cavalry, disobeyed the orders of the dictator to refrain from any engagement with the enemy, and was so fortunate as to gain a slight success. This brought matters to a crisis. By a vote of the public assembly Minucius was made co-dictator with Fabius. He now sought an engagement with the Carthaginians. An opportunity soon presented itself. But fortune was against him; and had it not been for the timely assistance of Fabius, his forces would have been cut to pieces. Minucius at once acknowledged the rashness of his policy, and took again his old position as a subordinate; while Fabius, by universal acclamation, was declared the "Saviour of Rome."

The Battle of Cannæ.—The time gained by Fabius had enabled the Romans to raise and discipline an army that might hope to combat successfully the Carthaginian forces. Early in the summer of the year 216 B.C., these new levies, numbering 80,000 men, confronted the army of Hannibal, amounting to not more than half that number, at Cannæ, in Apulia. It was the largest army the Romans had ever gathered on any

battle-field. But it had been collected only to meet the most overwhelming defeat that ever befell the forces of the republic. Through the skilful manœuvres of Hannibal, the Romans were completely surrounded, and huddled together in a helpless mass upon the field, and then for eight hours were cut down by the Numidian cavalry. From fifty to seventy thousand were slain; a few thousand were taken prisoners; only the merest handful escaped, including one of the consuls, Varro. The consul Paullus, Minucius, the two questors, twenty-one tribunes, seventy senators, and an innumerable body of titled nobles were killed. "So many knights lay dead that, as the story goes, Mayo, when sent some time afterwards by Hannibal to Carthage with the tidings of the victory, emptied on the floor of the Senate-house three bushels of golden rings taken from equestrian fingers."*

Events after the Battle of Cannæ.—The awful news flew to Rome. Consternation and despair seized the people. The city would have been emptied of its population had not the Senate ordered the gates to be closed. Never did that body display greater calmness, wisdom, prudence, and resolution. By word and act they bade the people never despair of the republic. Little by little the panic was allayed. Measures were concerted for the defence of the capital, as it was expected that Hannibal would immediately march upon Rome. "Messengers were sent along the southern military road to see, as Livy pathetically expressed it, 'if the gods, touched by one pang of pity, had left aught remaining to the Roman name,' and to bring the first tidings of the expected advance of Hannibal." The leader of the Numidian cavalry, Maharbal, urged Hannibal to follow up closely his victory. "Let me advance with the cavalry," said he, "and in five days you shall dine in the capital." But Hannibal refused to adopt the counsel of his im-

* Smith's "Carthage and Rome," p. 161.

petuous general. Maharbal turned away, and, with mingled reproach and impatience, exclaimed, "Alas! thou knowest how to gain a victory, but not how to use one." The great commander, while he knew he was invincible in the open field, did not think it prudent to fight the Romans behind their walls.

Hannibal now sent an embassy to Rome to offer terms of peace. The Senate, true to the Appian policy never to treat with a victorious enemy, would not even permit the ambassadors to enter the gates. Not less disappointed was Hannibal in the temper of the Roman allies. For the most part they adhered to the cause of Rome with unshaken loyalty through all these trying times. Some tribes in the South of Italy, however, among which were the Lucanians, the Apulians, and the Bruttians, went over to the Carthaginians. Hannibal marched into Campania and quartered his army for the winter in the luxurious city of Capua, which had opened its gates to him. Here he rested and sent urgent messages to Carthage for reinforcements, while Rome exhausted every resource in raising and equipping new levies, to take the place of the legions lost at Cannæ. For several years there was an ominous lull in the war, while both parties were gathering strength for a renewal of the struggle.

The Fall of Syracuse.—In the year 216 B.C., Hiero, King of Syracuse, who loved to call himself the friend and ally of the Roman people, died, and the government fell into the hands of a party unfriendly to the republic. An alliance was formed with Carthage, and Sicily was carried over to the side of the enemies of Rome. The movement was aided by forces sent from Africa, and the tide of war again overflowed the island that had been the theatre of the principal events of the first struggle between the rival cities. The Roman general Marcellus was intrusted with the task of reconquering the island. After reducing many towns, he at last laid siege to Syracuse.

This noted capital was then one of the largest and richest

cities of the Grecian world. Its walls were strong, and enclosed an area eighteen miles in circuit. For three years it held out against the Roman forces. It is said that Archimedes, the great mathematician, rendered great aid to the besieged with curious and powerful engines contrived by his genius. By means of cranes he lifted the Roman ships out of the water, and broke them to pieces; and by the use of sun-glasses set fire to their galleys. But the city fell at last, and was given over to sack and pillage. Rome was adorned with the rare works of Grecian art—paintings and sculptures—which for centuries had been accumulating in this the oldest and most renowned of the colonies of ancient Hellas. Syracuse never recovered from the blow inflicted upon her at this time by the relentless Romans. The site of the city is to-day as desolate as that of Carthage.

Fall of Capua: Hannibal before Rome.—Capua must next be punished for opening her gates and extending her hospitalities to the enemies of Rome. A line of circumvallation was drawn about the devoted city, and two Roman armies held it in close siege. Hannibal, ever faithful to his allies and friends, hastened to the relief of the Capuans. Unable to break the enemy's lines, he marched directly upon Rome, as if to make an attack upon that city, hoping thus to draw off the legions about Capua to the defence of the capital. In pursuance of this plan, he marched through Latium, sacking and burning the towns and villas as he advanced, and encamped, finally, within three miles of Rome. Meanwhile, a small body of soldiers, withdrawn from the army before Capua, were hurried over the Appian Way, and thrown into Rome, to strengthen the garrison. The Carthaginian cavalry swept the country far and wide, burning what could not be carried into camp as booty. The "dread Hannibal" himself rode alongside the walls of the hated city, and, tradition says, even hurled a defiant spear over the defences. The Romans certainly were trembling with fear; yet Livy tells

how they manifested their confidence in their affairs by selling at public auction the land upon which Hannibal was encamped. He in turn, in the same manner, disposed of the stores fronting the Forum. The story is that there were eager purchasers in both cases.

Failing to draw the legions from Capua as he had hoped, Hannibal now retired from before Rome, and, retreating into the southern part of Italy, abandoned Capua to its fate. It soon fell, and paid the penalty that Rome never failed to inflict upon an unfaithful ally. The chief men in the city were put to death, and a large part of the inhabitants sold as slaves. Capua had aspired to the first place among the cities of Italy: scarcely more than the name of the ambitious capital now remained.

Hasdrubal in Spain.—During all the years Hannibal was waging war in Italy, his brother Hasdrubal was carrying on a desperate struggle with the Romans in Spain. His plan was to gather and lead an army into Italy to the aid of his brother. This the Romans made every effort to prevent. Hence, even while Hannibal was threatening Rome itself, we find the Senate sending its best legions and generals across the sea into Spain. But Hasdrubal possessed much of the martial genius of his brother, and proved more than a match for the Scipios who commanded the Roman levies. Yet the fortunes of war were more fickle here than in Italy. At one time the Carthaginians were almost driven out of the peninsula; and then the whole was regained by the genius of Hasdrubal, and the two Scipios were slain. Another army, under the command of P. Cornelius Scipio, was sent to regain it and keep Hasdrubal engaged. The war was renewed, but without decided results on either side, and Hasdrubal determined to leave its conduct to others, and go to the relief of his brother, who was sadly in need of aid; for the calamities of war were constantly thinning his ranks. Like Pyrrhus, he had been brought to realize that

even constant victories won by the loss of soldiers that could not be replaced meant final defeat.

Battle of Metaurus.—Hasdrubal followed the same route as had been taken by his brother Hannibal, and in the year 207 B.C. descended from the Alps upon the plains of Northern Italy. Thence he advanced southward, while Hannibal moved northward from Bruttium to meet him. Rome made a last effort to ward off the double danger. One hundred and forty thousand men were put into the field. One of the consuls, C. Claudius Nero, was to obstruct Hannibal's march ; while the other, M. Livius, was to oppose Hasdrubal in the north. The great effort of the Roman generals was to prevent the junction of the armies of the two brothers. Hasdrubal pressed on southward and crossed the Metaurus. From here he sent a message to Hannibal, appointing a meeting-place only two days' march from Rome. The messenger fell into the hands of the consul Nero. In a moment Nero's plan was formed. With seven thousand picked soldiers he hastened northward, to join the other consul and, with their united forces, to crush Hasdrubal before his brother should know of the movement. In a few days Nero reached the camp of his colleague Livius, in front of which lay the Carthaginian army. As the soldiers of Nero entered the camp of his associate in the night, Hasdrubal knew nothing of their arrival until the next morning, when he observed that the trumpet sounded twice from the enemy's camp. Fearing to risk a battle, he attempted to fall back across the Metaurus. Misled by his guides, he was forced to turn and give battle to the pursuing Romans. His army was entirely destroyed, and he himself was slain (207 B.C.).

Nero now hurried back to face Hannibal, bearing with him the head of Hasdrubal. This bloody trophy he caused to be hurled into the Carthaginian camp. Upon recognizing the features of his brother, Hannibal exclaimed sadly, "Carthage, I see thy fate."

War in Africa: Battle of Zama.—The defeat and death of Hasdrubal gave a different aspect to the war. Hannibal now drew back into the rocky peninsula of Bruttium, the southernmost point of Italy. There he faced the Romans like a lion at bay. No one dared attack him. It was resolved to carry the war into Africa, in hopes that the Carthaginians would be forced to call their great commander out of Italy to the defence of Carthage. Publius Cornelius Scipio, who after the departure of Hasdrubal from Spain had quickly brought the peninsula under the power of Rome, led the army of invasion. He had not been long in Africa before the Carthaginian Senate sent for Hannibal to conduct the war. At Zama, not far from Carthage, the hostile armies came face to face. Fortune had deserted Hannibal; he was fighting against Fate. He here met his first and final defeat. His army, in which were many of the veterans that had served through all the Italian campaigns, was almost annihilated (202 B.C.).

The Close of the War.—Carthage was now completely exhausted, and sued for peace. Even Hannibal himself could no longer counsel war. The terms of the treaty were much severer than those imposed upon the city at the end of the First Punic War. She was required to give up all claims to Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean; to surrender her war elephants, and all her ships of war save ten galleys; to pay an indemnity of five thousand talents at once, and two hundred and fifty talents annually for fifty years; and not to engage in any war without the consent of Rome. Five hundred of the costly Phœnician war-galleys were towed out of the harbor of Carthage and burned in the sight of the citizens.

Such was the end of the Second Punic, or Hannibalic, War, as called by the Romans, the most desperate struggle ever maintained by rival powers for empire. Scipio was accorded a splendid triumph at Rome, and given the surname Africanus in honor of his achievements.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

(149-146 B.C.)

Events between the Second and Third Punic Wars.

THE terms imposed upon Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War left Rome mistress of the Western Mediterranean. During the fifty eventful years that elapsed between the close of that struggle and the breaking-out of the last Punic war, her authority became supreme also in the Eastern seas. In a preceding chapter, while narrating the fortunes of the most important states into which the great empire of Alexander was broken at his death, we followed them until one after another they fell beneath the arms of Rome, and were successively absorbed into her growing kingdom. We shall therefore speak of them here only in the briefest manner, simply indicating the connection of their several histories with the series of events which mark the advance of Rome to universal empire.

The Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.).—During the Hannibalic War, Philip of Macedonia had aided the Carthaginians, or at least had entered into an alliance with them. He was now troubling the Greek cities which were under the protection of Rome. For these things the Roman Senate determined to punish him. An army under Flaminius was sent into Greece, and on the plains of Cynoscephalæ, in Thessaly, the Roman legion demonstrated its superiority over the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx by subjecting Philip to a most disastrous defeat (197 B.C.). The king was forced to give up all his conquests, and Rome extended her protectorate over Greece.

The Battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.).—Antiochus the Great of Syria had at this time not only overrun all Asia Minor, but had crossed the Hellespont into Europe, and was intent upon the conquest of Thrace and Greece. Rome, who could not entertain the idea of a rival empire upon the southern shores of the Mediterranean, could much less tolerate the establishment in the East of such a colossal kingdom as the ambition of Antiochus proposed to itself. Just as soon as intelligence was carried to Italy that the Syrian king was leading his army into Greece, the legions of the republic were set in motion. Some reverses caused Antiochus to retreat in haste across the Hellespont into Asia, whither he was followed by the Romans, led by Scipio, brother of Africanus.

At Magnesia Antiochus was overthrown, and a large part of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Romans. Not yet prepared to maintain provinces so distant from the Tiber, the Senate conferred the new territory, with the exception of Lycia and Caria, which were given to the Rhodians, upon their friend and ally Eumenes, King of Pergamus. This "Kingdom of Asia," as it was called, was really nothing more than a dependency of Rome, and its nominal ruler only a puppet-king in the hands of the Roman Senate.

Scipio enjoyed a magnificent triumph at Rome, and, in accordance with a custom that had now become popular with successful generals, erected a memorial of his deeds in his name by assuming the title of Asiaticus.

The Battle of Pydna (168 B.C.).—In a few years Macedon, under the leadership of Perseus, son of Philip, was again in arms and offering defiance to Rome; but in the year 168 B.C. the Roman consul Æmilius Paulus crushed the Macedonian power forever upon the famous field of Pydna. This was one of the decisive battles fought by the Romans in their struggle for the dominion of the world. The last great power in the East was here broken. The Roman Senate was henceforth

recognized by the whole civilized world as the source and fountain of supreme political wisdom and power. We shall have yet to record many campaigns of the Roman legions; but these were efforts to suppress revolt among dependent or semi-vassal states, or were struggles with marauding tribes that skirted the Roman dominions.

The Destruction of Corinth (146 B.C.).—Barely twenty years had passed after the destruction of the Macedonian monarchy before the cities and states that formed the Achæan League were goaded to revolt by the injustice of their Roman protectors. In the year 146 B.C. the consul Mummius signalized the suppression of the rebellion by the complete destruction of the brilliant city of Corinth, the “eye of Hellas,” as the ancient poets were fond of calling it. This fair capital, the most beautiful and renowned of all the cities of Greece after the fall of Athens, was sacked and razed to the ground. Much of the booty was sold on the spot at public auction. Numerous works of art—rare paintings and sculptures—with which the city was crowded, were carried off to Italy. “Never before nor after,” says Long, “was such a display of the wonders of Grecian art carried in triumphal procession through the streets of Rome.”

The Fate of Hannibal and Scipio.—Among the many events that crowded the brief period we are reviewing, we must not fail to notice the fate of the two great actors in the Hannibalic War. Soon after the battle of Zama, and the treaty between Carthage and Rome, Hannibal was chosen to the chief magistracy of the former city. In this position he introduced much-needed reform into every department of the government, and secured to the capital a period of prosperity and rapid growth. But his measures stirred up not only enmity at home, but jealousy at Rome. The Roman Senate, fearing Hannibal as a statesman equally as much as they dreaded him as a general,

demanding of the Carthaginians his surrender. While they were deliberating whether to give up their great commander, Hannibal fled across the seas to Ephesus, in Asia Minor. Here he was received by Antiochus with such marks of honor as became his deeds and genius.

Upon the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia, the Romans demanded that Hannibal should be given up to them. Again the exile fled from his implacable foes, and at last found a refuge with the prince of Bithynia, in the remotest corner of Asia Minor. Yet even thither Roman hatred pursued him. It seemed as though there were no spot in all the world whither the arm of Rome did not reach. His new friend could not shield him; and, determined not to fall into the hands of his foes, Hannibal took his own life by means of poison, and died faithful to his vow of eternal hatred to the Roman race (183 B.C.).

Almost equally bitter was the cup which the ungrateful Romans forced to the lips of the conqueror of Hannibal. After the battle of Zama, Scipio Africanus gave himself to politics, but soon raised about himself a perfect storm of unmerited abuse and persecution. Leaving Rome, he went into a sort of voluntary exile at his country-seat near Liternum, in Campania. He died the same year that witnessed the death of Hannibal. Upon his tomb was placed this inscription, which he himself had dictated: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess even my ashes."

The Third Punic War.

"Carthage Must be Destroyed."—The same year that Rome destroyed Corinth (146 B.C.), she also blotted her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth. It will be recalled that one of the conditions imposed upon the last-named city at the close of the Second Punic War was that she should, under no circumstances, engage in any war without the permission of the Roman Senate. Taking advantage of the helpless condition

of Carthage, Masinissa, King of Numidia, began to make depredations upon her territories. She appealed to Rome for protection. The envoys sent to Africa by the Senate to settle the dispute unfairly adjudged every case in favor of the robber Masinissa. In this way Carthage was deprived of her lands and towns.

Chief of one of the embassies sent out was Marcus Cato, the famous censor. When he saw the prosperity of Carthage—her immense trade, which crowded her harbor with ships, and the country for miles back of the city a beautiful landscape of gardens and villas—he was amazed at the growing power and wealth of the city, and returned home convinced that the safety of Rome demanded the destruction of her rival. Never afterwards did he address the Romans, no matter upon what subject, but he always ended with the words, “Carthage must be destroyed.”*

Roman Perfidy.—A pretext for the accomplishment of the hateful work was not long wanting. In 150 B.C. the Carthaginians, when Masinissa made another attack upon their territory, instead of calling upon Rome, from which source the past had convinced them they could hope for neither aid nor justice, gathered an army, and resolved to defend themselves. Their forces, however, were defeated by the Numidian, and sent beneath the yoke.

In entering upon this war without the consent of Rome, Carthage had broken the conditions of the last treaty. The Carthaginian Senate, in great anxiety, now sent an embassy to Italy to offer any reparation the Romans might demand. They were told that if they would give three hundred hostages, members of the noblest Carthaginian families, their city should be spared. They eagerly complied with this demand. But no sooner were these in the hands of the Romans than the consular

* “Delenda est Carthago.”

armies, numbering eighty thousand men, secured against attack by the hostages so perfidiously drawn from the Carthaginians, crossed from Sicily into Africa, and disembarked at Utica, only ten miles from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were now commanded to give up all their arms; still hoping to win their enemy to clemency, they complied with this demand also. Then the consuls made known the final decree of the Roman Senate—"That Carthage must be destroyed, but that the inhabitants might build a new city, provided it were located ten miles from the coast."

When this resolution of the Senate was announced to the Carthaginians, and they realized the baseness and perfidy of their enemy, a cry of indignation and despair burst from the betrayed city.

The Carthaginians Prepare to Defend their City.—It was resolved to resist to the bitter end the execution of the cruel decree. The gates of the city were closed. Men, women, and children set to work and labored day and night manufacturing arms. The entire city was converted into one great workshop. The utensils of the home and the sacred vessels of the temples, statues and vases, were melted down for weapons. Material was torn from the buildings of the city for the construction of military engines. The women cut off their hair and braided it into strings for the catapults. By such labor, and through such means, the city was soon put in a state to withstand a siege.

When the Romans advanced to take possession of the place, they were astonished to find the people they had just treacherously disarmed, with weapons in their hands, manning the walls of their capital, and ready to bid them defiance.

The Destruction of Carthage.—It is impossible for us here to give the circumstances of the siege of Carthage. For four years the city held out against the Roman army. At length the

consul Scipio Æmilianus succeeded in taking it by storm. When resistance ceased, only 50,000 men, women, and children, out of a population of 700,000, remained to be made prisoners. The city was fired, and for seventeen days the space within the walls was a sea of flames. Every trace of building which the fire could not destroy was levelled, a plough was driven over the site, and a dreadful curse invoked upon any one who should dare attempt to rebuild the city.

Such was the hard fate of Carthage. So cruel a fortune were enough to move any heart, however steeled against sentiments of pity. We can easily believe that Polybius was only faithfully narrating what he observed when he says that, as Scipio gazed upon the smouldering ruins, he seemed to read in them the fate of Rome, and, bursting into tears, sadly repeated, half to himself, the lines of Homer :

“ The day shall come in which our sacred Troy,
And Priam, and the people over whom
Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all.”

The Carthaginian territory in Africa was made into a Roman province, with Utica as the leading city ; and Roman civilization was spread rapidly, by means of traders and settlers, throughout the regions that lie between the range of the Atlas and the sea.

War in Spain.

Siege of Numantia.—It is fitting that the same chapter which narrates the destruction of Corinth in Greece, and the blotting-out of Carthage in Africa, should tell the story of the destruction of Numantia in Spain.

The expulsion of the Carthaginians from the Spanish peninsula really gave Rome the control of only a small part of that country. The warlike native tribes—the Celtiberians and Lusitanians—of the North and West were ready stubbornly to dispute with the new-comers the possession of the soil. The treachery of the Roman generals inflamed the natives to a des-

perate revolt under Viriathus, a Lusitanian chief, who has been compared in his character and deeds to Wallace of Scotland. Finally Scipio Africanus was given the chief command. He began by reforming the army, which had become shamefully dissolute. The crowds of merchants were driven out of the camp; the wagons in which the effeminate soldiers were accustomed to ride were sold, and once more the Roman legions marched, instead of riding, to battle. The legionaries were further inured to the labors incident to a campaign by being set to the work of building up and tearing down walls, just for the exercise.

With the army in proper discipline for service, Scipio reinvested Numantia, which had already withstood nine years of siege. The brave defenders numbered barely 8000 men, while the lines of circumvallation that hedged them in were kept by 60,000 soldiers. Famine at last gave the place into the hands of Scipio, after almost all the inhabitants had met death, either in defence of the walls, or by deliberate suicide. The miserable remnant which the ravages of battle, famine, pestilence, and despair had left alive were sold into slavery, and the city was levelled to the ground (133 B.C.).

The capture of Numantia was considered quite as great an achievement as the taking of Carthage. Scipio celebrated another triumph at Rome, and to his surname Africanus added that of Numantinus. Spain became a favorite resort of Roman merchants, and many colonies were established in different parts of the country. As a result of this great influx of Italians, the laws, manners, customs, language, and religion of the conquerors were introduced everywhere, and the peninsula became rapidly Romanized.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

(133-31 B.C.)

WE have now traced the growth of the power of republican Rome, as through two centuries and more of conquest she has extended her authority, first throughout Italy, and then over all the countries that border upon the Mediterranean. It must be our less pleasant task now to follow the declining fortunes of the republic through the last century of its existence. We shall here learn that wars waged for spoils and dominion are at the last more ruinous, if possible, to the conqueror than to the conquered.

The Servile War in Sicily (134-132 B.C.).—With the opening of this period we find a terrible struggle going on in Sicily between masters and slaves—what is known as “The Servile War.” The condition of affairs in that island was the legitimate result of the Roman system of slavery. The captives taken in war were usually sold into servitude. The great number of prisoners furnished by the numerous conquests of the Romans caused slaves to become a drug in the slave-markets of the Roman world. They were so cheap that masters found it more profitable to wear their slaves out by a few years of unmercifully hard labor, and then to buy others, than to preserve their lives for a longer period by more humane treatment. In case of sickness, they were left to die without attention, as the expense of nursing exceeded the cost of new purchases. Some Sicilian estates were worked by as many as 20,000 slaves. That each owner might know his own, the poor creatures were

branded like cattle. What makes all this the more revolting is the fact that many of these slaves were in every way the peers of their owners, and often were infinitely their superiors. The fortunes of war alone had made one servant and the other master.

A considerable portion of the estates in Sicily were simply grazing-farms, their proprietors finding the raising of wool for the clothing of the Roman legions more profitable than the cultivation of grain. The slaves that tended the flocks on these farms received from their masters neither pay, food, nor clothing. They were expected to supply their needs from the herds they tended, and by robbing travellers on the highways and plundering the dwellings of the peasants. They were well armed, and were always accompanied by fierce dogs. The magistrates dared not punish them for their misdeeds, through fear of their masters, who were all-powerful at Rome.

The wretched condition of these slaves and the cruelty of their masters finally drove them to revolt. They were headed by Eunus, a sort of Asiatic juggler—he was a Syrian by birth—who secured the respect and admiration of his followers by “spouting flames from his mouth,” and by other performances familiar to the profession of which he seems to have been master. The insurrection spread throughout the island, until 200,000 slaves were in arms, and in possession of many of the strongholds of the country. They defeated four Roman armies sent against them, and for three years defied the power of Rome. Finally, however, in the year 132 B.C., the revolt was crushed by Publius Rupilius, and peace was restored to the distracted island.*

The Public Lands.—In Italy itself affairs were in a scarcely less wretched condition than in Sicily. When the different

* In the year 102 B.C. another insurrection of the slaves broke out in the island, which it required three years to quell. This last revolt is known as “The Second Servile War.”

states of the peninsula were subjugated, large portions of the conquered territory had become public land (*ager publicus*); for upon the subjugation of a state Rome never left to the conquered people more than two thirds of their lands, and often not so much as this. The land appropriated was disposed of at public sale, leased at low rentals, allotted to discharged soldiers, or allowed to lie unused. Much of this public domain, it will thus be seen, was under the control of the state as lessor, or remained in its absolute possession.*

Now, it had happened that, in various ways, almost all these public lands had fallen into the hands of the wealthy. They alone had the capital necessary to stock and work them to advantage; hence the possessions of the small proprietors were gradually absorbed by the large landholders. Often the families of the poor were ejected from their little plots of land by fraud while the father was away in the army; as Ahab had got possession of the garden of Naboth. Horace draws a pathetic picture of such an evicted family, "carrying with them the little images their fathers venerated and their poor dirty children."†

These great proprietors, also, disregarding a law which forbade any person to hold more than three hundred jugera of land, held many times that amount. Almost all the lands of Italy, about the beginning of the first century B.C., are said to have been held by not more than two thousand persons; for the large proprietors, besides the lands they had secured by purchase from the government, or had wrested from the smaller farmers, claimed enormous tracts to which they had only a squatter's title. So long had they been left in undisturbed possession of these government lands that they had come to look upon them as absolutely their own. In many cases, feel-

* These land matters may be made plain by a reference to the public lands of the United States, and the management of them. The troubles in Ireland between the land-owners and their tenants will also serve to illustrate the agrarian disturbances in ancient Rome.

† Quoted by Long in "Decline of Roman Republic," p. 173.

ing secure through great lapse of time — the lands having been handed down through many generations — the owners had expended large sums in their improvement, and now resisted as very unjust every effort to dispossess them of their hereditary estates. Money-lenders, too, had, in many instances, made loans upon these lands, and they naturally sided with the owners in their opposition to all efforts to disturb the titles.

These wealthy "possessors" employed slave rather than free labor, as they found it more profitable; and so the poorer Romans, left without employment, crowded into the cities, especially congregating at Rome, where they lived in vicious indolence. The proprietors also found it to their interest to raise stock rather than to cultivate the soil. All Italy became a great sheep-walk. An old Roman writer says that the country from an agricultural state had slipped back into the pastoral.

Thus, largely through the workings of the public land system, the Roman people had become divided into two great classes, which are variously designated as the Rich and the Poor, the Possessors and the Non-Possessors, the Optimates (the "Best") and the Populares (the "People"). We hear nothing more of patricians and plebeians. As one expresses it, "Rome had become a commonwealth of millionaires and beggars."

For many years before and after the period at which we have now arrived, a bitter struggle was carried on between these two classes; just such a contest as we have seen waged between the nobility and commonalty in the earlier history of Rome. The most instructive portion of the story of the Roman republic is found in the records of this later struggle. The misery of the great masses naturally led to constant agitation at the capital. Popular leaders introduced bill after bill into the Senate, and brought measure after measure before the assemblies of the people, all aiming at the redistribution of the public lands and the correction of existing abuses.

The Reforms of the Gracchi.—The two most famous cham-

pions of the cause of the poorer classes against the rich and powerful were Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. These reformers are reckoned among the most popular orators that Rome ever produced. They eloquently voiced the wrongs of the people. Said Tiberius, "You are called 'lords of the earth' without possessing a single clod to call your own." The people made him tribune; and in that position he secured the passage of a law for the redistribution of the public lands, which gave some relief. It took away from the Possessors all the land they held over five hundred jugera, and forced them to employ a certain number of Roman freemen in place of slaves.

At the end of his term of office, Tiberius stood a second time for the tribunate. The nobles combined to defeat him. Tiberius now resorted to unworthy means to excite the sympathy and passions of the people. He put on mourning, and asserted that his and the people's enemies were plotting his death. Great multitudes attended him wherever he went, escorting him home at night with music and torches. Foreseeing that he would fail to be re-elected, Tiberius resolved to use force upon the day of voting. His partisans were overpowered, and he and three hundred of his followers were killed in the Forum, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. This was the first time that the Roman Forum had witnessed such a scene of violence and crime.

Tiberius was in the wrong. His error was in supposing that the end justified the instrument used. He sought "to advance the best of causes by the most violent of means." His own brother-in-law, Scipio Africanus, when the news of the tumult and of the death of Tiberius was carried to him at Numantia, exclaimed, "So perish all who do the like again."

Caius Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius, now assumed the position made vacant by the death of Tiberius. It is related that Caius had a dream in which the spirit of his brother seemed to address him thus: "Caius, why do you linger? There is no escape: one life for both of us, and one

death in defence of the people, is our fate." The dream came true. Caius was chosen tribune in 123 B.C. He secured the passage of corn-laws which provided that corn should be sold to the poor from public granaries, at half its value or less. This was a very unwise and pernicious measure. It was not long before corn was distributed free to all applicants; and a considerable portion of the population of the capital were living in vicious indolence and feeding at the public crib.

Caius proposed other measures in the interest of the people, which were bitterly opposed by the Optimates; and the two orders at last came into collision. Caius sought death by a friendly sword, and three thousand of his adherents were massacred. The consul offered for the head of Caius its weight in gold. "This is the first instance in Roman history of head-money being offered and paid, but it was not the last" (Long).

The people ever regarded the Gracchi as martyrs to their cause, and their memory was preserved by statues in the public square. To Cornelia, their mother, a monument was erected, bearing the simple inscription, "The Mother of the Gracchi."

The War with Jugurtha (111-106 B.C.).—After the death of the Gracchi there seemed no one left to resist the heartless oppressions and to denounce the scandalous extravagances of the aristocratical party. Many of the laws of the Gracchi respecting the public lands were annulled. Italy fell again into the hands of a few over-rich land-owners. The provinces were plundered by the Roman governors, who squandered their ill-gotten wealth at the capital. The votes of senators and the decisions of judges, the offices at Rome and the places in the provinces—everything pertaining to the government had its price, and was bought and sold like merchandise. Affairs in Africa at this time illustrate how Roman virtue and integrity had declined since Fabricius indignantly refused the gold of Pyrrhus.

Jugurtha, king of Numidia, had seized all that country, having put to death the rightful rulers of different provinces of the same, who had been confirmed in their possessions by the Romans at the close of the Punic wars. Commissioners sent from Rome to look into the matter were bribed by Jugurtha. Finally, the Numidian robber, in carrying out some of his high-handed measures, put to death some Italian merchants. War was immediately declared by the Roman Senate, and the consul Bestia was sent into Africa with an army, to punish the insolent usurper. Bestia sold himself to Jugurtha, and, instead of chastising him, confirmed him in his stolen possessions. We should naturally suppose that the Senate would have administered some wholesome correction to the mercenary consul upon his return. But the wily general had anticipated this, and had taken with him the president of that body, and had divided with him the spoils.

The indignation of the people, who had good reason to suspect the real state of affairs, was great. They demanded that Jugurtha, with the promise of immunity to himself, should be invited to Rome, and encouraged to disclose the whole transaction, in order that those who had betrayed the state for money might be punished. Jugurtha came; but the gold of the consul and president bribed one of the tribunes to prohibit the king from giving his testimony.

Now it so happened that there was in Rome at this time a rival claimant of the Numidian throne, who at this very moment was urging his claims before the Senate. Jugurtha caused this rival to be assassinated. As he himself was under a safe-conduct, the Senate could do nothing to punish the audacious deed and to resent the insult to the state, save by ordering the king to depart from the city at once. As he passed the gates, it is said that he looked scornfully back upon the capital and exclaimed, "O venal city! destined quickly to perish whenever a purchaser shall be found for thee."

Upon the renewal of the war another Roman army was sent

into Africa, but was defeated, and forced beneath the yoke. In the year 106 B.C. the war was brought to a close by Caius Marius, a man who had risen to the consulship from the lowest ranks of the people. Under him fought a young nobleman named Sulla, of whom we shall hear much hereafter. Marius celebrated a grand triumph at Rome. Jugurtha, after having graced the triumphal procession, in which he walked with his hands bound with chains, was thrown into the Mamertine dungeon beneath the Capitoline, where he died of starvation.

Invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones.—The war was not yet ended in Africa before terrible tidings came to Rome from the north. Two mighty nations of "horrible barbarians," three hundred thousand strong in fighting-men, coming whence no one could tell, had invaded, and were now desolating, the Roman provinces of Gaul, and might any moment cross the Alps and pour down into Italy.

The mysterious invaders proved to be two Germanic tribes, the Teutones and Cimbri, the vanguard of that great German migration which was destined to change the face and history of Europe. These intruders were seeking new homes, and were driven on, it would almost seem, by a blind and instinctive impulse. They carried with them, in rude wagons, all their property, their wives, and their children. The Celtic tribes of Gaul were no match for the new-comers, and fled before them as they advanced. Several Roman armies beyond the Alps were cut to pieces. In one battle more than one hundred thousand Romans are said to have been slaughtered. The terror at Rome was only equalled by that occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls two centuries before. The Gauls were terrible enough; but now the conquerors of the Gauls were coming.

Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, was looked to by all as the only man who could save the state in this crisis. He was re-elected to the consulship, and intrusted with the command

of the armies. Accompanied by Sulla as one of his most skilful lieutenants, Marius hastened into Northern Italy. The barbarians had divided into two bands. The Cimbri were to cross the Eastern Alps, and join in the Valley of the Po the Teutones, who were to force the defiles of the Western or Maritime Alps. Marius determined to prevent the union of the barbarians, and to crush each band separately.

Anticipating the march of the Teutones, he hurried over the Alps into Gaul, and sat down in a fortified camp to watch their movements. Unable to storm the Roman position, the barbarians resolved to leave their enemy in the rear and push on into Italy. For six days and nights the endless train of men and wagons rolled past the camp of Marius. The barbarians jeered at the Roman soldiers, and asked them if they had any messages they wished to send to their wives; if so, they would bear them, as they would be in Rome shortly. Marius allowed them to pass by, and then, breaking camp, followed closely after. Falling upon them at a favorable moment, he almost annihilated the entire host.* Two hundred thousand barbarians are said to have been slain. Marius heaped together and burned the spoils of the battle-field. While engaged in this work, the news was brought to him of his re-election as consul for the fifth time. This was illegal; but the people felt that Marius must be kept in the field.

Marius now recrossed the Alps, and, after visiting Rome, hastened to meet the Cimbri, who were entering the north-eastern corner of Italy. He was not a day too soon. Already the barbarians had defeated the Roman army under the patrician Catulus, and were ravaging the rich plains of the Po. The Cimbri, unconscious of the fate of the Teutones, now sent an embassy to Marius, to demand that they and their kinsmen should be given lands in Italy. Marius sent back in reply, "The Teutones have got all the land they need on the other

* In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ, fought 102 B.C.

side of the Alps." The devoted Cimbri were soon to have all they needed on this side.

A terrible battle almost immediately followed at Vercellæ (101 B.C.). The barbarians were drawn up in an enormous hollow square, the men forming the outer ranks being fastened together with chains, to prevent the lines being broken. This proved their ruin. More than 100,000 were killed, and 60,000 taken prisoners to be sold as slaves in the Roman markets. Marius was hailed as the "Saviour of his Country."

The fate of these two nations that were wandering over the face of the earth in search of homes is one of the most pathetic tales in all history. The almost innumerable host of wanderers, men, women, and children, now "rested beneath the sod, or toiled under the yoke of slavery: the forlorn-hope of the German migration had performed its duty; the homeless people of the Cimbri and their comrades were no more" (Mommsen). Their kinsmen yet behind the Danube and the Rhine were destined to exact a terrible revenge for their slaughter.

The Social or Marsic War (91-89 B.C.).—Scarcely was the danger of the barbarian invasion past before Rome was threatened by another and greater peril arising within her own borders. At this time all the free inhabitants of the Roman state were divided into citizens and aliens. The former included the inhabitants of the capital and of the various Roman colonies planted in different parts of the peninsula. The latter were divided into three classes: the Latins, who were the inhabitants of the old Latin towns and their colonies; the *socii*, who included the different subjugated races of Italy; and the provincials, the free inhabitants of the provinces.

The Social or Marsic War (as it is often called on account of the prominent part taken in the insurrection by the warlike Marsians) was a struggle made by the *socii* for the privileges of Roman citizenship. The policy of Rome throughout her long career of conquest had been based on the vicious maxim that

"to the victors belong the spoils." As the authority of the city had been gradually extended over the various cities and states of Italy, the thought of admitting the conquered peoples to the rights and immunities enjoyed by the citizens of the capital never occurred to the selfish and exclusive Romans. Indeed, the world had not yet come to regard the conquered as having any rights whatever. But these Italians were the same in race, language, and religion as their conquerors ; and it was their valor and blood that had helped Rome secure the dominion of the Mediterranean world. They were in every essential respect the equals of the Romans, and in many respects their superiors. Yet invidious and hateful distinctions separated them from the citizens of the capital. A Roman soldier could not be scourged ; but an alien might be whipped to death, and often was, without comment being excited or redress being possible. Naturally the Italians complained bitterly of being taxed for the maintenance of laws and institutions which they could have no voice in establishing, and under which they could find no protection.

The *socii* now demanded the Roman franchise and the immunities and privileges of citizens. The demand was stubbornly resisted by both the aristocratical and the popular party at Rome. Some, however, recognized the justice of these claims of the Italians. Drusus championed their cause, but was murdered by an infuriated mob. The Italians now flew to arms. They determined upon the establishment of a rival state. A town called Corfinium, among the Apennines, was chosen as the capital of the new republic, and its name changed to Italica. The government of the new state was modelled after that at Rome. Two consuls were placed at the head of the republic, and a senate of five hundred members was formed. Thus, in a single day, almost all Italy south of the Rubicon was lost to Rome. The Etrurians, the Umbrians, the Campanians, the Latins, and some of the Greek cities were the only states that remained faithful.

The greatness of the danger aroused all the old Roman courage and patriotism. Aristocrats and democrats hushed their quarrels; Sulla and Marius forgot rising animosities, and fought bravely side by side for the endangered life of the republic. An army of 100,000 men was raised to face a force equal in number and discipline that had been gathered by the new confederacy. The war lasted three years. Finally Rome prudently extended the right of the franchise to the Latins, Etruscans, and Umbrians, who had so far remained true to her, but now began to show signs of wavering in their loyalty. Shortly afterwards she offered the same to all Italians who should lay down their arms within sixty days. This tardy concession to the just demands of the Italians virtually ended the war. It had been extremely disastrous to the republic. Hundreds of thousands of lives had been lost, many towns had been depopulated, and vast tracts of the country made desolate by those ravages that never fail to characterize civil contentions.

In after-years, under the empire, the rights of Roman citizenship, which the Italians had now so hardly won, were extended to all the free inhabitants of the various provinces beyond the confines of Italy.

The Civil War of Marius and Sulla.—The Social War was not yet ended when a formidable enemy appeared in the East. Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, taking advantage of the distracted condition of the republic, had encroached upon the Roman provinces in Asia Minor, and had caused a general massacre of the Italian traders and residents in that country. The number of victims of this wholesale slaughter has been variously estimated at from 80,000 to 150,000. The Roman Senate instantly declared war. But the Marsic struggle had drained the treasury. The money needed for equipping an army could only be raised by the sale of the vacant public ground about the Capitol building.

A contest straightway arose between Marius and Sulla for the command of the forces. The former was now an old man of seventy years, while the latter was but forty-nine. Marius could not endure the thought of being pushed aside by his former lieutenant. The veteran general joined with the young men in the games and exercises of the gymnasium, to show that the strength and agility of youth had yet the control of his frame. The Senate, however, conferred the command upon Sulla. Marius was furious at the success of his rival, and by fraud and intimidation succeeded in getting the command taken away from Sulla and given to himself. Two tribunes were sent to demand of Sulla, who was still in Italy, the transfer of the command of the legions to Marius; but the messengers were killed by the soldiers, who were devotedly attached to their commander. Sulla now saw that the sword must settle the dispute. He marched at the head of his legions upon Rome, entered the gates, and "for the first time in the annals of the city a Roman army encamped within the walls." The party of Marius was defeated, and he and ten of his companions were proscribed. Marius escaped and fled to Africa; Sulla embarked with the legions to meet Mithridates in the East (87 B.C.).

The Wanderings of Marius.—Leaving Sulla to carry on the Mithridatic War, we must first follow the fortunes of the exiled Marius. The ship in which he fled to Italy was driven ashore at Circeii. Here Marius and the companions of his flight wandered about, sustained by the hope inspired by the good omen of the seven eaglets. As the story runs, Marius, when a boy, had captured an eagle's nest with seven young, and the augurs had said that this signified that he should be seven times consul. He had already held the office six times, and he firmly believed that the prophecy would be fulfilled as to the seventh.

The pursuers of Marius at last found him hiding in a marsh,

buried to his neck in mud and water. He was dragged before the authorities of the town of Minturnæ. The magistrates, in obedience to the commands that had been sent everywhere, determined to put him to death. A Cimbrian slave was sent to despatch him. The cell where Marius lay was dark, and the eyes of the old soldier "seemed to flash fire." As the slave advanced, Marius shouted, "Man, do you dare kill Caius Marius?" The frightened slave dropped his sword, and fled from the chamber, half dead with fear.

A better feeling now took possession of the men of Minturnæ, and they resolved that the blood of the "Saviour of Italy" should not be upon their hands. They put him aboard a vessel, which bore him and his friends to an island just off the coast of Africa. When he attempted to set foot upon the mainland near Carthage, Sextius, the Roman governor of the province, sent a messenger to forbid him to land. The legend says that the old general, almost choking with indignation, only answered, "Go, tell your master, that you have seen Marius a fugitive sitting amidst the ruins of Carthage."

The Return of Marius to Italy.—The exile at length found a temporary refuge on the island of Cercina, off the coast of Tunis. Here news was brought to him that his party, under the lead of Cinna, was in successful revolt against the Optimates, and that he was needed. He immediately set sail for Italy, and, landing in Etruria, joined Cinna. Together they hoped to crush and exterminate the opposing faction. Rome was cut off from her food supplies, and starved into submission.

Marius now took a terrible revenge upon his enemies. The consul Octavius was assassinated, and his head set up in front of the Rostrum. Never before had such a thing been seen at Rome—a consul's head exposed to the public gaze. The senators, equestrians, and leaders of the Optimate party fled from the capital. For five days and nights a merciless slaughter was kept up. The life of every man in the capital was in the

hands of the revengeful Marius. If he refused to return the greeting of any citizen, that sealed his fate: he was instantly despatched by the soldiers who awaited the dictator's nod. The bodies of the victims lay unburied in the streets. Sulla's house was torn down, and he himself declared a public enemy. During the tumult the slaves had armed themselves, and, imitating the example set before them, were rioting in murder and pillage. Marius, finding it impossible to restrain their maddened fury, turned his soldiers loose upon them, and they were massacred to a man.

As a fitting sequel to all this violence, Marius and Cinna were, in an entirely illegal way, declared consuls. The prophecy of the eaglets was fulfilled: Marius was consul for the seventh time. But rumors were now spread that Sulla, having overthrown Mithridates, was about to set out on his return with his victorious legions. He would surely exact speedy and terrible vengeance. Marius, now old and enfeebled by the hardships of many campaigns, seemed to shrink from facing again his hated rival. He plunged into dissipation to drown his remorse and gloomy forebodings, and died in his seventy-first year (86 B.C.), after having held his seventh consulship only thirteen days.

Sulla and the Mithridatic War.—When Sulla left Italy with his legions for the East, he knew very well that his enemies would have their own way in Italy during his absence; but he also knew that, if successful in his campaign against Mithridates, he could easily regain Italy, and wrest the government from the hands of the Marian party.

We can here take space to give simply the results of Sulla's campaigns in the East. After driving the army of Mithridates out of Greece, Sulla crossed the Hellespont, and forced the king to sue for peace. He gave up his conquered territory, surrendered his war-ships, and paid a large indemnity to cover the expenses of the war.

With the Mithridatic War ended, Sulla wrote to the Senate, enumerating all his services to the state in the Jugurthine, Cimbrian, Social, and Eastern wars. "In return, his adversaries," he goes on to complain, "had declared him an enemy to the Roman state; they had demolished his home, murdered his friends, and his wife and children had with difficulty escaped." He was now coming to take vengeance upon the Marian party—his own and the republic's foes.

The terror and consternation produced at Rome by this letter were increased by the accidental burning of the Capitol. The Sibylline Books, which held the secrets of the fate of Rome, were consumed. This accident awakened the most gloomy apprehensions. Such an event, it was believed, could only foreshadow the most direful calamities to the state.

The Proscriptions of Sulla.—The returning army from the East landed in Italy. The raw levies of the consuls Cinna and Carbo were easily cut to pieces by the veteran legions of Sulla, who marched into Rome with all the powers of a dictator. The leaders of the Marian party were proscribed, rewards were offered for their heads, and their property was confiscated. The body of Marius was dragged from its tomb and thrown into the Anio. Sulla was implored to make out a list of those he designed to put to death, that those he intended to spare might be relieved of the terrible suspense in which all were now held. He made out a list of eighty, which was attached to the Rostrum. The people murmured at the length of the roll. In a few days it was extended to over three hundred, and grew rapidly, until it included the names of thousands of the best citizens of Italy. Hundreds were murdered, not for any offence, but because some favorites of Sulla coveted their estates. A wealthy noble coming into the Forum, and reading his own name in the list of the proscribed, exclaimed, "Alas! my villa has proved my ruin." The infamous Catiline, by having the name of a brother placed upon the fatal roll, secured

his property. It was during this reign of terror that Crassus, at this time a young man, "laid the foundation of the wealth which earned him the renown of the richest of the Romans." Julius Cæsar, now a mere boy of eighteen, was proscribed on account of his relationship to Marius; but, upon the intercession of friends, Sulla spared him: as he did so, however, he said warningly, and, as the event proved, prophetically, "There is in that boy many a Marius."

Senators, knights, and wealthy land-owners fell by hundreds and by thousands; but the poor Italians who had sided with the Marian party were simply slaughtered by tens of thousands. The inhabitants of entire cities and provinces were massacred to make room for the soldiers of Sulla, of whom more than one hundred thousand were settled in different parts of Italy, upon lands and in homes thus emptied of their owners. The Etrurians and Samnites were almost annihilated. Nor did the provinces escape. In Sicily, Spain, and Africa the enemies of the dictator were hunted and exterminated like noxious animals. It is estimated that the civil war of Marius and Sulla cost the republic over one hundred and fifty thousand lives.

The Triumph and Death of Sulla. — When Sulla had sated his revenge, he celebrated a splendid triumph at Rome; and the Senate passed an act declaring all that he had done legal and right, and, moreover, caused to be erected in the Forum a gilded equestrian statue of the dictator, which bore the legend, "To Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the Commander Beloved by Fortune."

The Senate now formally conferred upon Sulla, what he already possessed, the powers of the dictatorship, securing to him the supreme authority for life. He used his position and influence in recasting the constitution in the interest of the aristocratical party. After enjoying the unlimited power of an Asiatic despot for three years, Sulla suddenly resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his villa at Puteoli, where he gave

himself up to the grossest dissipations. He died the year following his abdication (78 B.C.). Just before his death, learning that a Roman questor was delaying to render his accounts in the hope that the expected event would give him an opportunity to evade his obligations, he caused the officer to be brought into his chamber and strangled before him.

The soldiers who had fought under the old general crowded to his funeral from all parts of Italy. The body was burned upon a huge funeral pyre raised in the Campus Martius. The monument erected to his memory bore this inscription, which he himself had composed: "None of my friends ever did me a kindness, and none of my enemies ever did me a wrong, without being fully requited."

CHAPTER XXX.

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (*concluded*).

(133-31 B.C.)

Pompey the Great in Spain.—The fires of the Civil War, though quenched in Italy, were still smouldering in Spain. Sertorius, an adherent of Marius, had there stirred up the martial tribes of Lusitania, and incited a general revolt against the power of the aristocratical government at Rome. Cneius Pompey, a rising young leader of the oligarchy, upon whom the title of Great had already been conferred as a reward for crushing the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, was sent into Spain to perform a similar service there.

For several years the war was carried on with varying fortunes. At times the power of Rome in the peninsula seemed on the verge of utter extinction. Finally, the brave Sertorius was assassinated, and then the whole of Spain was quickly regained. Pompey boasted of having forced the gates of more than eight hundred cities of Spain and Southern Gaul. Throughout all the conquered regions he established military colonies, and reorganized the local governments, putting in power those who would be, not only friends and allies of the Roman state, but also his own personal adherents. How he used these men as instruments of his ambition, we shall learn a little later.

Spartacus: War of the Gladiators.—While Pompey was subduing the Marian faction in Spain, a new danger broke out in the midst of Italy. Gladiatorial combats had become, at this time, the favorite sport of the amphitheatre. At Capua was a

sort of training-school, from which skilled fighters were hired out for public or private entertainments. In this seminary was a Thracian slave, known by the name of Spartacus, who incited his companions to revolt. The insurgents fled to the crater of Vesuvius, and made that their stronghold. There they were joined by gladiators from other schools, and by slaves and discontented men from every quarter. Some slight successes enabled them to arm themselves with the weapons of their enemies. Their number at length increased to one hundred thousand men. For three years they defied the power of Rome, and even gained control of the larger part of Southern Italy. Four Roman armies sent against them were cut to pieces.

But Spartacus, who was a man of real ability and discernment, foresaw that a protracted contest with Rome must inevitably issue in the triumph of the government. He therefore counselled his followers to fight their way over the Alps, and then to disperse to their various homes in Gaul, Spain, and Thrace. But, elated with the successes already achieved, they imagined that they could capture Rome, and have all Italy for a spoil. Their camp was already filled with plunder, which the insurgents sold to speculators. They took in exchange for these spoils only brass and iron, which their forges quickly converted into weapons.

At length M. Crassus succeeded in crowding the insurgents down into Rhegium, where Hannibal had stood so long at bay. •Spartacus now resolved to pass over into Sicily, and stir up the embers of the old Servile War upon that island. He bargained with the pirates that infested the neighboring seas to convey his forces across the straits; but as soon as they had received the stipulated price they treacherously sailed away, and left Spartacus and his followers to their fate. Crassus threw up a wall across the isthmus, to prevent the escape of the insurgents; but Spartacus broke through the Roman line by night, and hastened northward with his army. Following in hot pur-

suit, Crassus overtook the fugitives at the Silarus, and there subjected them to a decisive defeat. Spartacus himself was slain; but five thousand of the insurgents escaped, and fled towards the Alps. This flying band was met by Pompey, who was returning from Spain, and it was simply annihilated. Pompey at once sent a message to the Senate, in which, in a most ungenerous manner, he sought to take away from Crassus, to whom it really belonged, the credit of the overthrow of the rebellion. This contemptible message ran thus: "Crassus has defeated the gladiators in open battle; but I have plucked the war up by the roots."

The rebellion was punished with Roman severity. The slaves that had taken part in the revolt were hunted through the mountains and forests, and exterminated like dangerous beasts. The Appian Way was lined with six thousand crosses, bearing aloft as many bodies—a terrible warning of the fate awaiting slaves that should dare strike for freedom.

The Abuses of Verres.—Terrible as was the state of society in Italy, still worse was the condition of affairs outside the peninsula. At first the rule of the Roman governors in the provinces, though severe, was honest and prudent. But during the period of profligacy and corruption upon which we have now entered, the administration of these foreign possessions was shamefully dishonest and incredibly cruel and rapacious. The prosecution of Verres, the proprætor of Sicily, exposed the scandalous rule of the oligarchy, into whose hands the government had fallen. For three years Verres plundered and ravaged that island with impunity. He sold all the offices, and all his decisions as judge. He demanded of the farmers the greater part of their crops, which he sold, to swell his already enormous fortune. Agriculture was thus ruined, and the farms were abandoned. Verres had a taste for art, and when on his tours through the island confiscated gems, vases, statues, paintings, and other things that struck his fancy, whether in

temples or private dwellings. He appropriated to his own uses the money which he was to employ in equipping ships to chastise the pirates that vexed the surrounding seas; and then for the defeat which followed he struck off the heads of his admirals. Ships entering the Sicilian harbors were seized and their cargoes sold. He even caused a Roman trader, for a slight offence, to be crucified, "the cross being set on the beach within sight of Italy, that he might address to his native shores the ineffectual cry, 'I am a Roman citizen.'"

Verres could not be called to account while in office; and it was doubtful whether, after the end of his term, he could be convicted; so corrupt and venal were become the members of the Senate, before whom all such offenders must be tried. Indeed, Verres himself openly boasted that he intended two thirds of his gains for his judges and lawyers, while the remaining one third would satisfy himself.

Finally, after Sicily had come to look as though it had been ravaged by barbarian conquerors, the infamous robber was impeached. The prosecutor was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the brilliant orator, who was at this time just rising into prominence at Rome. The storm of indignation raised by the developments of the trial caused Verres to flee into exile to Mas-silia, whither he took with him much of his ill-gotten wealth.

War with the Mediterranean Pirates (66 B.C.).—The Roman republic was now threatened by a new danger from the sea. The Mediterranean was swarming with pirates. Roman conquests in Africa, Spain, and especially in Greece and Asia Minor, had caused thousands of adventurous spirits from those maritime countries to flee to their ships, and seek a livelihood by preying upon the commerce of the seas. The cruelty and extortions of the Roman governors had also driven large numbers to the same course of life. These corsairs had banded themselves into a sort of government, and held possession of numerous strongholds—four hundred, it is said—in Cilicia,

Crete, and other countries. With a full thousand swift ships they scoured the waters of the Mediterranean, so that no merchantman could spread her sails in safety. They formed a floating empire, which Michelet calls "a wandering Carthage, which no one knew where to seize, and which floated from Spain to Asia."

These buccaneers, the Vikings of the South, made descents upon the coast everywhere, plundered villas and temples, attacked and captured cities, and sold the inhabitants as slaves in the various slave-markets of the Roman world. They carried off merchants and magistrates from the Appian Way itself, and held them for ransom. They made a jest of Roman citizenship, and defied the authority of the Senate. At last the cornships of Sicily and Africa were intercepted, and Rome was threatened with the alternative of starvation or the paying of an enormous ransom.

The Romans now bestirred themselves. Pompey was invested with dictatorial power for three years over the Mediterranean and all its coasts for fifty miles inland. An armament of five hundred ships and one hundred thousand men was intrusted to his command. The great general acted with his characteristic energy. Within forty days he had swept the pirates from the Western Mediterranean, and in forty-nine more hunted them from all the waters east of Italy, captured their strongholds in Cilicia, and settled the twenty thousand prisoners that fell into his hands in various colonies in Asia Minor and Greece. Pompey's vigorous and successful conduct of this campaign against the pirates gained him great honor and reputation.

Pompey and the Mithridatic War.—In the very year that Pompey suppressed the pirates (66 B.C.), he was called to undertake a more difficult task. Mithridates the Great, led on by his ambition and encouraged by the discontent created throughout the Eastern provinces by Roman rapacity and mis-

rule, was again in arms against Rome. He had stirred almost all Asia Minor to revolt. The management of the war was at first intrusted to Lucullus, but he soon lost the confidence both of the people at home and of the soldiers in the army; so the command was taken from him and conferred upon Pompey, whose successes in the war of the pirates had aroused unbounded enthusiasm for him.

In the first engagement, which took place upon the Lycus, in ancient Assyria, Pompey almost annihilated the army of Mithridates. The king fled from the field, and, after seeking in vain for a refuge in Asia Minor, sought an asylum at the farthest corner of the Euxine, beyond the Caucasus Mountains, whose bleak barriers interposed their friendly shield between him and his pursuers. Desisting from the pursuit, Pompey turned south and conquered Syria, Phœnicia, and Cœle-Syria, which countries he erected into a Roman province.

Still pushing southward, the conqueror entered Palestine, and after a short siege captured Jerusalem (63 B.C.). It was at this time that Pompey insisted, in spite of the protestations of the high-priest, upon entering the Holy of Holies of the Hebrew temple. Pushing aside the curtain to the jealously guarded apartment, he was astonished to find nothing but a darkened and vacant chamber, without even a statue of the god to whom the shrine was dedicated—nothing but a little chest containing some sacred relics.

While Pompey was thus engaged, Mithridates was straining every energy to raise an army among the Scythian tribes with which to carry out a most daring project. He proposed to cross Europe and fall upon Italy from the north. A revolt on the part of his son Pharnaces ruined all his plans and hopes; and the disappointed monarch, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, took his own life (63 B.C.). His death removed one of the most formidable enemies that Rome had ever encountered. Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Mithridates were the three great names that the Romans always pronounced with

respect and dread. It is asserted that, when news of the death of Mithridates was carried to Italy, "the Romans rejoiced as though ten thousand of their enemies had been slain."

Pompey's Triumph.—After regulating the affairs of the different states and provinces in the East, Pompey set out on his return to Rome. His journey through Asia Minor and Greece was one continued ovation. At the capital, after some delay caused by the jealousy of his enemies, he enjoyed such a triumph as never before had been seen since Rome had become a city. The spoils of all the East were borne in the procession ; 322 princes walked as captives before the triumphal chariot of the conqueror ; legends upon the banners proclaimed that he had conquered 21 kings, captured 1000 strongholds, 900 towns, and 800 ships, and subjugated more than 12,000,000 people ; and that he had put in the treasury more than \$25,000,000, besides doubling the regular revenues of the state. He boasted that three times he had triumphed, and each time for the conquest of a continent—first for Africa, then for Europe, and now for Asia, which completed the conquest of the world.

The Conspiracy of Catiline.—While the legions were absent from Italy with Pompey in the East, a most daring conspiracy against the government was formed at Rome. Catiline, a ruined spendthrift, had gathered a large company of profligate young nobles, weighed down with debt and desperate like himself, and had deliberately planned to murder the consuls and the chief men of the state, and to plunder and burn the capital. The offices of the new government were to be divided among the conspirators. They depended upon receiving aid from Africa and Spain, and proposed to invite to their standard the gladiators in the various schools of Italy, as well as slaves and criminals. The proscriptions of Marius and Sulla were to be renewed, and all debts were to be cancelled.

Fortunately, all the plans of the conspirators were revealed

to the consul Cicero, the great orator. The Senate immediately clothed the consuls with dictatorial power with the usual formula, that they should take care that the republic received no harm. The gladiators were secured; the city walls were manned; and at every point the capital and state were armed against the "invisible foe." Then in the Senate-chamber, with Catiline himself present, Cicero exposed the whole conspiracy in a famous philippic, known as "The First Oration against Catiline." The senators shrank from the conspirator, and left the seats about him empty. After a feeble effort to reply to Cicero, overwhelmed by a sense of his guilt, and the cries of "traitor" and "parricide" from the senators, he fled from the chamber, and hurried out of the city to the camp of his followers, in Etruria. His associates in crime in the city were arrested and executed. In a desperate battle fought near Pistoria, Catiline was slain with many of his followers. His head was borne as a trophy to Rome. Cicero was hailed as the "Saviour of his Country."

Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey.—Although the conspiracy of Catiline had failed, it was very easy to foresee that the downfall of the Roman republic was near at hand. Indeed, from this time on only the name remains. The basis of the institutions of the republic—the olden Roman virtue, integrity, patriotism, and faith in the gods—was gone, having been swept away by the tide of luxury, selfishness, and immorality produced by the long series of foreign conquests and robberies in which the Roman people had been engaged. The days of liberty at Rome were over. From this time forward the government was really in the hands of ambitious and popular leaders, or of corrupt combinations and rings. Events gather about a few great names, and the annals of the republic become biographical rather than historical.

There were now in the state three men—Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey—who were destined to shape affairs. Caius Julius

Cæsar was born in the year 100 B.C. Although descended from an old patrician family, still his sympathies, and an early marriage to the daughter of Cinna, one of the adherents of Marius, led him early to identify himself with the Marian or democratic party. We have already noticed his escape from the proscriptions of Sulla, and the prediction of the dictator that in him would be found many Mariuses. In every way Cæsar courted popular favor. He lavished enormous sums upon public games and tables. His debts are said to have amounted to 25,000,000 sesterces (\$1,250,000). His popularity was unbounded. A successful campaign in Spain had already made known to himself, as well as to others, his genius as a commander.

Crassus belonged to the senatorial or aristocratical party. He owed his influence to his enormous wealth, being one of the richest men in the Roman world. His property was estimated at 7100 talents (about \$7,500,000).*

With Pompey and his achievements we are already familiar. His influence throughout the Roman world was great ; for, in settling and reorganizing the many countries he subdued, he

* "The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires ; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sulla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous of involving all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase. Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down ; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together. In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them ; and he commonly had them at a low price by reason of the fire and distress the owners were in about the event. [Then the slaves would set to work and extinguish the fire, and Crassus at a small cost would repair the damage.] Hence in time he became master of a great part of Rome."—Plutarch.

had always taken care to reconstruct them in his own interest, as well as in that of the republic. The offices, as we have seen, were filled with his friends and adherents. This patronage had secured for him incalculable authority in the provinces. His veteran legionaries, too, were naturally devoted to the general who had led them to victory and glory.

The First Triumvirate.—What is known as the First Triumvirate rested on the genius of Cæsar, the wealth of Crassus, and the achievements of Pompey. It was a coalition or private arrangement entered into by these three men for the purpose of securing to themselves the control of public affairs. Each pledged himself to work for the interests of the others. Cæsar was the manager of the ring. He skilfully drew away Pompey from the aristocratical party, and effected a reconciliation between him and Crassus, for they had been at enmity. It was agreed that Crassus and Pompey should aid Cæsar in securing the consulship. In return for this favor, Cæsar was to secure for Pompey a confirmation of his acts in the East, and allotments of land for his veterans, which thus far had been jealously withheld by the senatorial party.

Everything fell out as the triumvirs had planned : Cæsar got the consulship, and Pompey received the lands for his soldiers. The two ablest senatorial leaders, Cato and Cicero, whose incorruptible integrity threatened the plans of the triumvirs, were got out of the way. Cato was given an appointment which sent him into honorable exile to the island of Cyprus ; while Cicero, on the charge of having denied Roman citizens the right of trial in the matter of the Catiline conspirators, was banished from the capital, his mansion on the Palatine was razed to the ground, and the remainder of his property confiscated.

Cæsar's Conquests in Gaul and Britain.—At the end of his consulship, Cæsar had assigned him the administration of the

provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. Already he was revolving in his mind plans for seizing supreme power. Beyond the Alps the Gallic and Germanic tribes were in restless movement. He saw there a grand field for military exploits, which should gain for him such glory and prestige as, in other fields, had been won and were now enjoyed by Pompey. With this achieved, and with a veteran army devoted to his interests, he might hope easily to attain that position at the head of affairs towards which his ambition was urging him.

In the spring of 58 B.C. alarming intelligence from beyond the Alps caused Cæsar to hasten from Rome into Transalpine Gaul. Now began a series of eight brilliant campaigns directed against the various tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain. In his famous "Commentaries" Cæsar himself has left us a faithful and graphic account of all the memorable marches, battles, and sieges that filled the years between 58 and 50 B.C.

Cæsar's first campaign after arriving in Gaul was directed against the Helvetians. These people, finding themselves too much crowded in their narrow territory, hemmed in as they were between the Alps and the Jura ranges, had resolved to seek broader fields in the Roman provinces across the Rhone. Disregarding the commands of Cæsar, the entire nation, numbering, with their allies, 368,000 souls, left their old homes, and began their westward march. In a great battle Cæsar completely defeated the barbarians, and forced them back into their old home between the mountains, now quite large enough for the survivors, as barely a third of those that had set out returned.

Cæsar next defeated the Suevi, a German tribe that, under the great chieftain Ariovistus, had crossed the Rhine, and were seeking settlements in Gaul. These people he forced back over the Rhine into their native forests. The two years following this campaign were consumed in subjugating the different tribes in Northern and Western Gaul, and in composing the affairs of the country. In the war with the Veneti was fought the first historic naval battle upon the waters of the Atlantic.

The year 55 B.C. marked two great achievements. Early in the spring of this year Cæsar constructed a bridge across the Rhine, and led his legions against the Germans in their native woods and swamps. In the autumn of the same year he crossed, by means of hastily constructed ships, the channel that separates the mainland from Britain, and after maintaining a foothold upon that island for two weeks withdrew his legions into Gaul for the winter. The following season he made another invasion of Britain; but, after some encounters with the fierce barbarians, recrossed to the mainland, without having established any permanent garrisons in the island. Almost one hundred years passed away before the natives of Britain were again molested by the Romans.

In the year 52 B.C., while Cæsar was absent in Italy, a general revolt occurred among the Gallic tribes. It was a last desperate struggle for the recovery of their lost independence. Vercingetorix, chief of the Arverni, was the leader of the insurrection. For a time it seemed as though the Romans would be driven from the country. But Cæsar's despatch and genius saved the province to the republic. Vercingetorix and 80,000 of his warriors were shut up in Alesia, and were finally starved into submission. All Gaul was now quickly reconquered and pacified.

In his campaigns in Gaul, Cæsar had subjugated three hundred tribes, captured eight hundred cities, and slain one million barbarians—one third of the entire population of the country. Another third he had taken prisoners. Great enthusiasm was aroused at Rome by these victories. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero: "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians; they are now no longer needed."

Results of the Gallic Wars.—One result of the Gallic wars of Cæsar was the Romanizing of Gaul. The country was opened to Roman traders and settlers, who carried with them the language, customs, and arts of Italy. Honors were con-

ferred upon many of the Gallic chieftains, privileges were bestowed upon cities, and the franchise even given to prominent and influential natives. As another result of the conquest of the country, Mommsen gives prominence to the checking of migratory movements of the German tribes, which gave "the necessary interval for Italian civilization to become established in Gaul, on the Danube, in Africa, and in Spain."

Crassus in the East.—In the year 56 B.C., while Cæsar was in the midst of his Gallic wars, he found time to meet Pompey, Crassus, and two hundred senators and magistrates who co-operated with the triumvirs, at Lucca, in Etruria, where, in a sort of convention, arrangements were made for another term of five years. (A nomination by this league or ring of politicians and generals was equivalent to an election.) It was agreed that Cæsar's command in Gaul should be extended five years, and that Crassus and Pompey should be made consuls. All these measures were carried into effect, the elections at Rome being secured by intimidation, and by the votes of soldiers of the Gallic legions, to whom Cæsar had granted furloughs for this purpose. The government of the two Spains was given to Pompey, while that of Syria was assigned to Crassus.

The latter hurried to the East, hoping to rival there the brilliant conquests of Cæsar in the West. At this time the great Parthian empire occupied the immense reach of territory stretching from the Valley of the Euphrates to that of the Indus. Notwithstanding that the Parthians were at peace with the Roman people, Crassus led his army across the Euphrates, and invaded their territory, intent upon a war of conquest and booty. In the midst of the Mesopotamian desert he was treacherously deserted by his guides; and his army, suddenly attacked by the Parthian cavalry, was almost annihilated. Crassus himself was slain, and his head, so it is said, was filled by his captors with molten gold, that he might be "sated" with the metal which he had so coveted during life.

In the death of Crassus, Cæsar lost his staunchest friend, one who had never failed him, and whose wealth had been freely used for his advancement. When Cæsar, before his consulship, had received a command in Spain, and the immense sums he owed at Rome were embarrassing him and preventing his departure, Crassus had come forward and generously paid more than one million dollars of his friend's debts.

Cæsar Crosses the Rubicon.—After the death of Crassus, the world belonged to Cæsar and Pompey. That the insatiable ambition of these two rivals should sooner or later bring them into collision was inevitable. Their alliance in the triumvirate was simply one of selfish convenience, not of friendship. While Cæsar was carrying on his brilliant campaigns in Gaul, Pompey was at Rome watching jealously the growing reputation of his great rival. He strove, by a princely liberality, to win the affections of the common people. On the Field of Mars he erected an immense theatre with seats for forty thousand spectators. He gave magnificent games, and set public tables; and when the interest of the people in the sports of the Circus flagged, he entertained them with gladiatorial combats. In a similar manner Cæsar strengthened himself with the people for the struggle which he plainly foresaw. He sought in every way to ingratiate himself with the Gauls: he increased the pay of his soldiers, conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of different cities, and sent to Rome enormous sums of gold to be expended in the erection of temples, theatres, and other public structures, and in the celebration of games and shows that should rival in magnificence those given by Pompey.

The terrible condition of affairs at the capital favored the ambition of Pompey. So selfish and corrupt were the members of the Senate, so dead to all virtue and to every sentiment of patriotism were the people, that even such patriots as Cato and Cicero saw no hope for the maintenance of the re-

public. The former favored the appointment of Pompey as sole consul for one year, which was about the same thing as making him dictator. "It is better," said Cato, "to choose a master than to wait for the tyrant whom anarchy will impose upon us." The "tyrant" in his and everybody's mind was Cæsar.

Pompey now broke with Cæsar, and attached himself again to the old aristocratical party, which he had deserted for the alliance and promises of the triumvirate. The death at this time of his wife Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, severed the bonds of relationship at the same moment that those of ostensible friendship were broken.

Cæsar now demanded the consulship. He knew that his life would not be safe in Rome from the jealousy and hatred of his enemies without the security from impeachment and trial which that office would give. The Senate, under the manipulation of these same enemies, issued a decree that he should resign his office, and disband his Gallic legions by a stated day. The crisis had now come. Cæsar ordered his legions to hasten from Gaul into Italy. Without waiting for their arrival, at the head of a small body of veterans that he had with him at Ravenna, he crossed the Rubicon, a small stream that marked the boundary of his province. This was a declaration of war. As he plunged into the river, he exclaimed, "The die is cast."

The Civil War of Cæsar and Pompey.—The bold movement of Cæsar produced great consternation at Rome. Realizing the danger of delay, Cæsar, without waiting for the Gallic legions to join him, marched southward. One city after another threw open its gates to him; legion after legion went over to his standard. Pompey and the Senate hastened from Rome to Brundisium, and thence, with about twenty-five thousand men, fled across the Adriatic into Greece. The Senate reassembled at Thessalonica, in Macedonia. Within sixty days Cæsar made himself undisputed master of all Italy.

Pompey and Cæsar now controlled the Roman world. It was large, but not large enough for both these ambitious men. As to which was likely to become sole master, it were difficult for one watching events at that time to foresee. Cæsar held Italy, Illyricum, and Gaul, with the resources of his own genius and the idolatrous attachment of his soldiers; Pompey controlled Spain, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, and the provinces of Asia, with the prestige of his great name and the indefinite resources of the East.

Cæsar's first care was to pacify Italy. His moderation and prudence won all classes to his side. Many had looked to see the terrible scenes of the days of Marius and Sulla re-enacted. Cæsar, however, soon gave assurance that life and property should be held sacred. He needed money; but, to avoid laying a tax upon the people, he asked for the treasure kept beneath the Capitol. Legend declared that this gold was the actual ransom-money which Brennus had demanded of the Romans, and which Camillus had saved by his timely appearance. It was esteemed sacred, and was never to be used save in case of another Gallic invasion. When Cæsar attempted to get possession of the treasure, the tribune Metellus prevented him; but Cæsar impatiently brushed him aside, saying, "The fear of a Gallic invasion is over: I have subdued the Gauls."

With order restored in Italy, Cæsar's next movement was to gain control of the corn-fields of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. So long as these granaries were in the hands of the Pompeians, Rome was in constant danger of famine. A single legion brought over Sardinia without resistance to the side of Cæsar. Cato, the lieutenant of Pompey, fled from before Curio out of Sicily. In Africa, however, the forces of Curio sustained a severe defeat, and the Pompeians held their ground there until the close of the war. Cæsar, meanwhile, had subjugated Spain. In forty days the entire peninsula was brought under his authority. Massilia had ventured to close her gates against

the conqueror ; but a brief siege forced the city to capitulate. Cæsar was now free to turn his forces against Pompey in the East.

The Battle of Pharsalia.—From Brundisium Cæsar embarked his legions for Epirus. The passage was an enterprise attended with great danger ; for Bibulus, Pompey's admiral, swept the sea with his fleets. It was not without having sustained severe losses that Cæsar effected a landing upon the shores of Greece. His legions mustered barely twenty thousand men. Pompey's forces were at least double this number. Cæsar's attempt to capture the camp of his rival at Dyrrachium having failed, he slowly retired into Thessaly, and drew up his army upon the plains of Pharsalia. Hither he was followed by Pompey. The adherents of the latter were so confident of an easy victory that they were already disputing about the offices at Rome, and were renting the most eligible houses fronting the public squares of the capital. The battle was at length joined. It proved Pompey's Waterloo. His army was cut to pieces. He himself fled from the field, and escaped to Egypt. Just as he was landing, he was stabbed by one of his former lieutenants, now an officer at the Egyptian court. The reigning Ptolemy had ordered Pompey's assassination in hopes of pleasing Cæsar. "If we receive him," said he, we shall make Cæsar our enemy and Pompey our master."

The head of the great general was severed from his body ; and when Cæsar, who was pressing after Pompey in hot pursuit, landed in Egypt, the bloody trophy was brought to him. He turned from the sight with generous tears. It was no longer the head of his rival, but of his old associate and son-in-law. He ordered his assassins to be executed, and directed that fitting funeral obsequies should be performed over his body.

Close of the Civil War.—Cæsar was detained at Alexandria nine months in settling a dispute respecting the throne of

Egypt. After a severe contest he overthrew the reigning Ptolemy, and secured the kingdom to the celebrated Cleopatra and a younger brother. Intelligence was now brought from Asia Minor that Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great, was inciting a revolt among the peoples of that region. Cæsar met the Pontic king at Zela, defeated him, and in five days put an end to the war. His laconic message to the Senate announcing his victory is famous. It ran thus: *Veni, vidi, vici*—"I came, I saw, I conquered."

Cæsar now hurried back to Italy, and thence proceeded to Africa, which the adherents of Pompey and the friends of the old republic had made their last rallying-place. At the great battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) the last hopes of the Pompeians were crushed. Fifty thousand lay dead upon the field. Cato, who had been the very life and soul of the army, refusing to outlive the republic, took his own life.

Cæsar's Triumph.—Cæsar was now lord of the Roman world. Although he refrained from assuming the title of king, no Eastern monarch was ever possessed of more absolute power, nor surrounded by more abject flatterers and sycophants. He was invested with all the offices and dignities of the state. The Senate made him perpetual dictator, and conferred upon him the powers of censor, consul, and tribune, with the titles of Pontifex Maximus and Imperator. "He was to sit in a golden chair in the Senate-house, his image was to be borne in the processions of the gods, and the seventh month of the year was changed in his honor from Quintilis to Julius."

His triumph celebrating his many victories far eclipsed in magnificence anything that Rome had before witnessed. In the procession were led captive princes from all parts of the world. Beneath his standards marched soldiers—Gauls, Iberians, Africans, and Asiatics—gathered out of almost every country beneath the heavens. Seventy-five million dollars of treasure were displayed. Splendid games and tables attested the liber-

ality of the conqueror. Sixty thousand couches were set for the multitudes. The shows of the theatre and the combats of the arena followed one another in an endless round. "Above the combats of the amphitheatre floated for the first time the awning of silk, the immense velarium of a thousand colors, woven from the rarest and richest products of the East, to protect the people from the sun" (Gibbon).

Cæsar as a Statesman.—Cæsar was great as a general, yet greater, if possible, as a statesman. The measures which he instituted evince profound political sagacity and surprising breadth of view. He sought to reverse the jealous and narrow policy of Rome in the past, and to this end rebuilt both Carthage and Corinth, and founded numerous colonies in all the different provinces, in which he settled about 100,000 of the poorer citizens of the capital. Upon some of the provincials he conferred Roman or Latin rights, and thus strove to blend the varied peoples and races within the boundaries of the empire in a real nationality, with community of interests and sympathies. He reformed the calendar (Cæsar as pontiff was especially interested in astronomy, and had written a work on the subject) so as to bring the festivals once more in their proper seasons, and provided against further confusion by making the year consist of 365 days, with an added day for every fourth or leap year.

Besides these achievements, Cæsar projected many vast undertakings, which the abrupt termination of his life prevented his carrying into execution. He ordered a survey of the enormous domains of the state; he proposed to make a code or digest of the Roman laws—which work was left to be performed by the Emperor Justinian six centuries later; he also planned many public works and improvements at Rome, among which were schemes for draining the Pontine Marshes and for changing the course of the Tiber. He further proposed to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth (a work that

modern engineers are just attempting), to construct roads over the Apennines, and to form a library to take the place of the famous Alexandrian collection, 400,000 volumes of which had been destroyed during his campaign in Egypt.

But perhaps his plans of conquest in the East were his grandest conception. He proposed, in revenge for the defeat and death of his friend Crassus, to break to pieces the Parthian empire; then, sweeping with an army around above the Euxine, to destroy the dreaded hordes of Scythia; and then, falling upon the German tribes in the rear, to crush their power forever, and thus relieve the Roman empire of their constant threat. He was about to set out on the expedition against the Parthians, when he was struck down by assassins.

The Death of Cæsar.—Cæsar had his bitter personal enemies, who never ceased to plot his downfall. There were, too, sincere lovers of the old republic, who longed to see restored the liberty which the conqueror had overthrown. The impression began to prevail that Cæsar was aiming to make himself king. A crown was several times offered him in public by Mark Antony; but, seeing the manifest displeasure of the people, he each time pushed it aside. Yet there is no doubt that secretly he desired it. It was reported that he proposed to rebuild the walls of Troy, whence the Roman race had sprung, and make that ancient capital the seat of the new Roman empire. Others professed to believe that the arts and charms of the Egyptian Cleopatra, who had borne him a son at Rome, would entice him to make Alexandria the centre of the proposed kingdom. So many, out of love for Rome and the old republic, were led to enter into a conspiracy against the life of Cæsar with those who sought to rid themselves of the dictator for other and personal reasons.

The Ides (the 15th day) of March, 44 B.C., upon which day the Senate convened, witnessed the assassination. Seventy or eighty conspirators, headed by Cassius and Brutus, both of

whom had received special favors from the hands of Cæsar, were concerned in the plot. The augurs must have had some knowledge of the plans of the conspirators, for they had warned Cæsar to "beware of the Ides of March." On his way to the Senate-house that day, a paper warning him of his danger was thrust into his hand ; but, not suspecting its urgent nature, he did not open it. As he entered the assembly chamber he observed the augur Spurinna, and remarked carelessly to him, referring to his prediction, "The Ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the soothsayer, "but not gone."

No sooner had Cæsar taken his seat than the conspirators crowded about him as if to present a petition. Upon a signal from one of their number their daggers were drawn. For a moment Cæsar defended himself ; but seeing Brutus, upon whom he had lavished gifts and favors, among the conspirators, he exclaimed reproachfully, *Et tu, Brute!*—"Thou, too, Brutus!" drew his mantle over his face, and received unresistingly their further thrusts. Pierced with twenty-three wounds, he sank dead at the foot of Pompey's statue.

Funeral Oration by Mark Antony.—The conspirators, or "liberators," as they called themselves, had thought that the Senate would confirm, and the people applaud, their act. But both people and senators, struck with consternation, were silent. Men's faces grew pale as they recalled the proscriptions of Sulla, and saw in the assassination of Cæsar the first act in a similar Reign of Terror. As the conspirators issued from the Senate-house, and entered the Forum, holding aloft their bloody daggers, instead of the expected acclamations they were met by an ominous silence. The liberators hastened for safety to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, going thither ostensibly for the purpose of giving thanks for the death of the tyrant.

Upon the day set for the funeral obsequies, Mark Antony, the trusted friend and secretary of Cæsar, mounted the rostrum in the Forum to deliver the usual funeral oration. He recount-

ed the great deeds of Cæsar, the glory he had conferred upon the Roman name, dwelt upon his liberality and his munificent bequests to the people — even to some who were now his murderers ; and, when he had wrought the feelings of the multitude to the highest tension, he raised the robe of Cæsar, and showed the rents made by the daggers of the assassins. Cæsar had always been beloved by the people and idolized by his soldiers. They were now driven almost to frenzy with grief and indignation. Seizing weapons and torches, they rushed through the streets, vowing vengeance upon the conspirators. The liberators, however, escaped from the fury of the mob, and fled from Rome, Brutus and Cassius seeking refuge in Greece.

The Second Triumvirate.—Antony had gained possession of the will and papers of Cæsar, and now, under color of carrying out the testament of the dictator, according to a decree of the Senate, entered upon a course of high-handed usurpation. He was aided in his designs by Lepidus, one of Cæsar's old lieutenants. Very soon he was exercising all the powers of a real dictator. "The tyrant is dead," said Cicero, "but the tyranny lives." This was a bitter commentary upon the words of Brutus, who, as he drew his dagger from the body of Cæsar, turned to Cicero and exclaimed, "Rejoice, O Father of your Country, for Rome is free." Rome could not be free, the republic could not be re-established, because the olden love for virtue and liberty had died out from among the people—had been overwhelmed by the rising tide of vice, corruption, sensuality, and irreligion that had set in upon the capital.

To what length Antony would have gone in his career of usurpation it is difficult to say, had he not been opposed at this point by Octavius, the grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, and the one whom he had named in his will as his heir and successor. Although only eighteen years of age, he now came boldly forward and claimed the inheritance, assuming at the same time the name Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. He won Cicero to

his support, and aroused the enthusiasm of the people by selling his own estates, in order to pay the bequests which his uncle had made in his will. Antony had already seized, and used for his own purposes, the treasures from which the dictator had designed these legacies to be paid.

Upon the Senate declaring in favor of Octavius, civil war immediately broke out between him and Antony and Lepidus. After several indecisive battles had been fought between the forces of the rival competitors, Octavius proposed to Antony and Lepidus a reconciliation. The three met on a small island in the Rhenus, a little stream in Northern Italy, and there formed a league known as the Second Triumvirate.

The plans of the triumvirs were infamous. They first divided the world among themselves: Octavius was to have the government of the West; Antony, that of the East; while to Lepidus fell the control of Africa. A general proscription, such as had marked the coming to power of Marius and Cinna, was then resolved upon. It was agreed that each should give up to the assassin such friends of his as had incurred the ill-will of either of the other triumvirs. Under this arrangement Octavius gave up his friend Cicero—who had incurred the hatred of Antony by opposing his schemes—and allowed his name to be put at the head of the list of the proscribed.

The friends of the orator urged him to flee the country. "Let me die," said he, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!" His attendants were hurrying him, half unwilling, towards the coast, when his pursuers came up and despatched him in his litter. His head was carried to Rome and set up in front of the rostrum, "from which he had so often addressed the people with his eloquent appeals for liberty." It is told that Fulvia, the wife of Antony, ran her gold bodkin through the tongue, in revenge for the bitter philippics it had uttered against her husband. The right hand of the victim—the hand that had penned the eloquent orations—was nailed to the rostrum.

Cicero was but one victim among many hundreds. All the dreadful scenes of the days of Sulla were re-enacted. Three hundred senators and two thousand knights were murdered. The estates of the wealthy were confiscated, and conferred by the triumvirs upon their friends and favorites.

Last Struggle of the Republic at Philippi.—The friends of the old republic, and the enemies of the triumvirs, were meanwhile rallying in the East. Brutus and Cassius were the animating spirits. The Asiatic provinces were plundered to raise money for the soldiers of the liberators. Octavius and Antony, as soon as they had disposed of their enemies in Italy, crossed the Adriatic into Greece, to disperse the forces of the republicans there. The liberators, advancing to meet them, passed over the Hellespont into Thrace.

Tradition tells how one night a spectre appeared to Brutus and seemed to say, "I am thy evil genius; we will meet again at Philippi." At Philippi, in Thrace, the hostile armies met (42 B.C.). In two successive engagements the new levies of the liberators were cut to pieces, and both Brutus and Cassius, believing the cause of the republic forever lost, committed suicide. It was, indeed, the last effort of the republic. The history of the events that lie between the action at Philippi and the establishment of the empire is simply a record of the struggles among the triumvirs for the possession of the prize of supreme power.

The New Division of the Roman World.—After the victory at Philippi, Antony crossed the Hellespont to care for the Asiatic provinces, while Octavius returned to Italy to attend to the distribution of lands among the soldiers. Jealousies arose almost immediately between the conquerors, and civil war was imminent. But Antony and Octavius were brought together at Brundisium, where, through the mediation of friends, a reconciliation was effected, and the Roman world was redistributed

among the triumvirs. To Antony were given, to settle and rule, all the provinces and tributary states east of the Adriatic ; to Octavius were assigned Italy and Spain ; and to Lepidus was given the province of Africa. The year following this arrangement, Sextius Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, who with a formidable fleet held the Mediterranean against the triumvirs, and cut off the supply of corn from Rome, was admitted to the league. He was assigned the principal islands of the Mediterranean, and also the province of Achaia, with the understanding that he should supply Italy with corn.

The league, based as it was entirely upon selfish and personal considerations, was naturally soon broken. A slight pretext led Octavius to make war upon Sextius Pompey, who, fleeing to Asia Minor, was there murdered. Lepidus then entered into a dispute with Octavius respecting Sicily, which resulted in the former's expulsion from the triumvirate. Again the Roman world, as in the times of Cæsar and Pompey, was in the hands of two masters—Antony in the East, and Octavius in the West.

Antony and Cleopatra.—When Antony, after the battle of Philippi, went into Asia for the purpose of settling the affairs of the vassal states and provinces there, he summoned Cleopatra, the fair queen of Egypt, to meet him at Tarsus, in Cilicia, there to give account to him for the aid she had rendered the liberators. She obeyed the summons, confident in the power of her charms to appease the wrath of the triumvir. She ascended the Cydnus in a gilded barge, with oars of silver, and sails of purple silk. Beneath awnings wrought of the richest manufactures of the East, the beautiful queen, attired to personate Venus, reclined amidst lovely attendants dressed to represent cupids and nereids. Antony was completely fascinated, as had been the great Cæsar before him, by the dazzling beauty of the “Serpent of the Nile.” Enslaved by her enchantments, and charmed by her brilliant wit (for the fair queen

possessed not only personal beauty, but was gifted in song and language), Antony, in the pleasures of her company, forgot all else—ambition and honor and country.

The days and the nights were spent in one round of banquets, games, and revelries. It is said that the queen, at the close of a banquet, in order to win a wager that she could consume ten million sesterces at one meal, dissolved, in a cup of vinegar, a pearl of fabulous worth, and then carelessly swallowed the costly draught. In ingenious ways she amused the Roman voluptuary, arraying herself now as Venus and then as Isis, while he personated Bacchus and Osiris. Upon their fishing excursions she employed divers to fasten enormous salt fishes to the hook of her lover.

Once, indeed, Antony did rouse himself and break away from his enslavement, to lead the Roman legions against the Parthians. With an army of one hundred thousand men he crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, and with reckless daring plunged amidst the defiles and snowy passes of the mountains beyond. But the storms of approaching winter, and the incessant attacks of the Parthian cavalry, at length forced him to make a hurried and disastrous retreat. The loss, the suffering, and the disgrace attending this ill-fated expedition rivalled the calamities and dishonor of the memorable defeat of Crassus. Antony hastened back to Egypt, and sought to forget his shame and disappointment amidst the revels of the Egyptian court.

The Battle of Actium.—Affairs could not long continue in their present course. Antony had put away his faithful wife Octavia for the beautiful Cleopatra. It was whispered at Rome, and not without truth, that he proposed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world, and announce Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, as heir of the empire. All Rome was stirred. It was evident that a conflict was at hand in which the question for decision would be whether the West

should rule the East, or the East rule the West. All eyes were instinctively turned to Octavius as the defender of Italy, and the supporter of the sovereignty of the Eternal City. Both parties made the most gigantic preparations. Octavius met the combined fleets of Antony and Cleopatra just off the promontory of Actium, on the Grecian coast. While the fate of the battle that there took place was yet undecided, Cleopatra, completely unnerved with fear, turned her galley in flight. The Egyptian ships, to the number of fifty, followed her example. Antony, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of Cleopatra, forgot all else, and followed in her track with a swift galley. Overtaking the fleeing queen, the infatuated man was received aboard her vessel, and became her partner in the disgraceful flight.

The abandoned fleet and army surrendered to Octavius. The conqueror was now sole master of the civilized world. From this decisive battle (31 B.C.) are usually dated the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire. Some, however, make the establishment of the empire date from the year 28 B.C., as it was not until then that Octavius was formally invested with imperial powers.

Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra.—Octavius pursued Antony to Egypt, where the latter, deserted by his army, and informed by a messenger from the false queen that she was dead, committed suicide. This was exactly what Cleopatra anticipated he would do, and hoped thus to rid herself of a now burdensome lover. When, however, the dying Antony, in accordance with his wish, was borne to her, the old love returned and he expired in her arms.

Cleopatra then sought to enslave Octavius with her charms; but, failing in this, and becoming convinced that he proposed to take her to Rome that she might there grace his triumph, she took her own life, being in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Tradition says that she effected her purpose by applying a

poisonous asp to her arm. But it is really unknown in what way she killed herself. It is only certain that, when the chamber of the mausoleum in which she had shut herself up was one day entered by the officers of Octavius, she was found lying dead among her attendants, with no mark of injury upon her body.

16*

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS OF ROMAN REPUBLIC.

	B.C.
Republic established and first consuls elected.....	509
First secession of plebeians.....	494
Cincinnatus made dictator.....	458
Election of first decemvirs.....	451
First censors elected.....	445
Capture of Veii.....	396
Sack of Rome by Gauls under Brennus.....	390
Samnite wars.....	343-290
War with Pyrrhus.....	280-274
First Punic War.....	264-241
Second ".....	218-201
Third ".....	149-146
Destruction of Numantia.....	133
First Servile War.....	134-132
Jugurthine War.....	111-104
Marius defeats Teutones and Cimbri.....	102-101
Civil wars of Marius and Sulla.....	88-78
Pompey defeats Mediterranean pirates.....	66
Conspiracy of Catiline.....	63-62
First triumvirate formed.....	60
Conquests of Cæsar in Gaul and Britain.....	58-50
Battle of Pharsalia; Pompey flees to Egypt and is murdered....	48
Battle of Thapsus; Cæsar becomes dictator of Roman world....	46
Murder of Cæsar.....	44
Battle of Philippi; deaths of Brutus and Cassius.....	42
Republic ends with battle of Actium between Octavius and Antony	31

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(From 31 B.C. to A.D. 180.)

Reign of Augustus Cæsar (31 B.C. to A.D. 14).—The hundred years of strife which ended with the battle of Actium left the Roman republic, exhausted and helpless, in the hands of one wise enough and strong enough to remould its crumbling fragments in such a manner that the nation, which seemed ready to fall to pieces, might prolong its existence for another five hundred years. It was a great work thus to create anew, as it were, out of anarchy and chaos, a political fabric that should exhibit such elements of perpetuity and strength. "The establishment of the Roman empire," says Merivale, "was, after all, the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievements of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, are not to be compared with it for a moment."

The government which Octavius established was a monarchy in fact, but a republic in form. Mindful of the fate of Julius Cæsar, who fell because he gave the lovers of the Republic reason to think that he coveted the title of king, Octavius carefully veiled his really absolute sovereignty under the forms of the old republican state. The Senate still existed; but so completely subjected were its members to the influence of the conqueror that the only function it really exercised was the conferring of honors and titles and abject flatteries upon its master. All the republican offices remained; but Octavius absorbed and exercised all their powers and functions. He was at once consul, tribune, censor, and pontifex maximus. All

the republican magistrates—the consuls, the tribunes, the prætors—were elected as usual ; but they were simply the nominees and creatures of the emperor. They were the effigies and figure-heads to delude the people into believing that the Republic still existed. Never did a people seem more content with the shadow after the loss of the substance.

The Senate, acting under the inspiration of Octavius, withheld from him the title of king, which ever since the expulsion of the Tarquins, five centuries before this time, had been intolerable to the people ; but they conferred upon him the titles of *Imperator* and *Augustus*, the latter having been hitherto sacred to the gods. The sixth month of the Roman year was called *Augustus* in his honor, an act in imitation of that by which the preceding month had been given the name of *Julius* in honor of *Julius Cæsar*.

The domains over which Augustus held sway were imperial in magnitude. They stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and upon the north were hemmed by the forests of Germany and the bleak steppes of Scythia, and were bordered on the south by the sands of the African desert and the dreary wastes of Arabia, which seemed the boundaries set by nature to dominion in those directions. Within these limits were crowded more than 100,000,000 people, embracing every conceivable condition and variety in race and culture, from the rough barbarians of Gaul to the pampered citizens of Rome, and from the fierce Numidian, careless of ease and luxury, to the refined voluptuary of the East.

The policy of Augustus aimed at the fusion of the varied elements of the empire into a single national life. His wise and firm administration of the government did much towards effecting this worthy purpose. He made a tour through all the Eastern provinces, founded colonies, granted privileges, bestowed honors, and by many generous and well-considered acts attached all classes to the new empire. He brought back with him the long-lost eagles of Crassus, which he had de-

manded and received of the Parthian king. Amidst the greatest rejoicing, they were placed in the Temple of Mars the Avenger at Rome.

The reign of Augustus lasted forty-four years, from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14. It embraced the happiest period in the annals of Rome. Under the patronage of the emperor, and that of his favorite minister Mæcenas, poets and writers flourished and made this the "golden age" of Latin literature. During this reign Virgil composed his immortal epic of the "*Æneid*," and Horace his famous odes; while Livy wrote his inimitable history, and Ovid his "*Metamorphoses*." Many who lamented the fall of the republic sought solace in the pursuit of letters; and in this they were encouraged by Augustus, as it gave occupation to many restless spirits that would otherwise have been engaged in political intrigues against his government.

Augustus was also a munificent patron of architecture and art. He adorned the capital with many splendid structures. Said he proudly, "I found Rome a city of brick; I left it a city of marble." The population of the city at this time was probably about one million. Two other cities of the empire, Antioch and Alexandria, are thought to have had each about this same number of citizens. These cities, too, were made magnificent with architectural and art embellishments.

Octavius was the first to moderate the ambition of the Romans, and to counsel them not to attempt to conquer any more of the world, but rather to devote their energies to the work of consolidating the domains already acquired. He saw the dangers that would attend any further extension of the boundaries of the state.

Although the principate of Augustus was disturbed by some troubles upon the frontiers, still never before, perhaps, did the world enjoy so long a period of general rest from the preparation and turmoil of war. Three times during this auspicious reign the gates of the Temple of Janus at Rome, which were

open in time of war and closed in time of peace, were shut. Only twice before during the entire history of the city had they been closed, so constantly had the Roman people been engaged in strife. It was in the midst of this happy reign, when profound peace prevailed throughout the civilized world, that Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The event was unheralded at Rome; yet it was filled with profound significance, not only for the Roman Empire, but for the world.

The latter years of the life of Augustus were clouded both with domestic bereavement and national disaster. His beloved nephew Marcellus, and his two grandsons Caius and Lucius, whom he purposed making his heirs, were all removed by death; and then away beneath the German forest his general Varus, who had attempted to rule the freedom-loving Teutons as he had governed the abject Asiatics of the Eastern provinces, was surprised by the barbarians, led by their brave chief Hermann—Arminius, as called by the Romans—and his army destroyed almost to a man (A.D. 9). Forty thousand of the legionaries lay dead and unburied in the tangled woods and morasses of Germany.

The disaster caused great consternation at Rome; for it was feared that the German tribes would now cross the Rhine, effect an alliance with the Gauls, and then that these united hordes would pour over the Alps into Italy. Augustus, wearied and worn already with advancing age, the cares of empire, and domestic affliction, was inconsolable. He paced his palace in agony, and kept exclaiming, "O Varus! Varus! give me back my legions; give me back my legions!" But Tiberius, whom Augustus, after the death of Caius and of Lucius, had appointed his heir and successor, so carefully guarded the Rhine that the Germans did not attempt the passage, and Italy was saved from the threatened invasion.

The victory of Arminius over the Roman legions was an event of the greatest significance in the history of European civilization. Germany was almost overrun by the Roman army.

The Teutonic tribes were on the point of being completely subjugated and Romanized, as had been the Celts of Gaul before them. Had this occurred, the entire history of Europe would have been changed; for the Germanic element is the one that has given shape and color to the important events of the last fifteen hundred years. Those barbarians, too, were our ancestors. Had Rome succeeded in exterminating or enslaving them, Britain, as Creasy says, would never have received the name of England, and the great English nation would never have had an existence.

In the year A.D. 14, Augustus died, having reached the seventy-sixth year of his age. His last words to the friends gathered about his bedside were: "If I have acted well my part in life's drama, greet my departure with your applause." It was believed that the soul of Augustus ascended visibly amidst the flames of his funeral pyre. By decree of the Senate divine worship was accorded to him, and temples were erected in his honor.

One of the most important of the acts of Augustus, in its influence upon following events, was the formation of the Prætorian Guard, which was designed for a sort of body-guard to the emperor. In the succeeding reign this body of soldiers, about ten thousand in number, was given a permanent camp alongside the city walls. It soon became a formidable power in the state, and made and unmade emperors at will.

Reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37).—Tiberius succeeded to an unlimited sovereignty. The Senate conferred upon him all the titles that had been worn by Augustus. One of the first acts of Tiberius gave the last blow to the ancient republican institutions. He took away from the popular assembly the privilege of electing the consuls and prætors, and bestowed the same upon the Senate, which, however, must elect from candidates presented by the emperor. As the Senate was the creation of the emperor, who as censor made up the list of its members,

of course he was now the source and fountain of all power and patronage. During the first years of his reign, Tiberius used his practically unrestrained authority with moderation and justice, being seemingly desirous of promoting the best interests of all classes in his vast empire.

The beginning of his reign was marked by revolts among the legions, the most serious discontent manifesting itself among those guarding the Rhine, who wished to raise to the throne their favorite general Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius. But Germanicus sternly refused to take part in such an act of treachery, reproved his soldiers, and then drew their attention from such thoughts of disloyalty by leading them across the Rhine to recover the lost standards of Varus. He was so far successful in this bold enterprise as to retake the lost eagles and capture the wife of Arminius. But at this moment, when Germanicus seemed upon the point of laying the Roman yoke upon the tribes of Germany, Tiberius, moved, it is conjectured, by jealousy, recalled him from the Rhenish frontier, and sent him into the Eastern provinces, where he soon after died, having been poisoned, as was charged, by an agent of the jealous emperor.

Despotic power is a dangerous possession, likely to prove terribly harmful, alike to him who wields it as well as to those over whom it is exercised. Very few natures can withstand the seductive temptations, the corrupting influences, of unrestrained and irresponsible authority. Hence the long series of excesses and crimes which we shall now find making up a large part of the annals of the Roman emperors.

Tiberius, whatever may have been the intentions with which he began his reign, soon yielded to the baser passions of his nature, plunged into the grossest sensuality, and perpetrated the most infamous crimes against the lives and liberties of his subjects. He caused to be revived an old law, known as the law of *majestas*, which made it a capital offence for any one to speak a careless word, or even to entertain an unfriendly

thought, respecting the emperor. "It was dangerous to speak and equally dangerous to keep silent," says Leighton, "for silence even might be construed into discontent." Rewards were offered to informers, and hence sprang up a class of persons called "delators," who acted as spies upon society. Often false charges were preferred, to gratify personal enmity; and many, especially of the wealthy class, were accused and put to death that their property might be confiscated.

Tiberius appointed, as his chief minister and commander of the prætorians, one Sejanus, a man of the lowest and most corrupt life. This officer actually persuaded Tiberius to retire to the little island of Capræ, in the Bay of Naples, and leave to him the management of affairs at Rome. The emperor built several villas in different parts of the beautiful islet, and, having gathered about him a company of congenial souls, plunged into the most shameless debaucheries. The days were passed in high revels, and the nights in abominable orgies. One of his companions, whose only qualification was that he had swallowed five flasks of wine in succession, was appointed to a high office. For five years the revelry went on.

Meanwhile, Sejanus was ruling at Rome very much according to his own will. No man's life was safe. He murdered the most prominent citizens, and caused the heirs to the throne to be put out of the way, in order that Tiberius might be free to name him as his successor. He even grew so bold as to plan the assassination of the emperor himself. His designs, however, became known to Tiberius; and the infamous and disloyal minister was arrested and put to death.

The naturally cruel, suspicious, and misanthropic spirit of Tiberius now became more morose and gloomy than before. Such was his distrust of the people that, when he visited Rome after the execution of his minister, he did not dare approach the city by land, but was borne up the Tiber in a galley, the crowds being cleared from the banks as the barge advanced slowly up the stream. Scarcely had he reached the confines of the city,

when, overcome probably by fear, he ordered the galley to be turned about; and his flight was never intermitted until he was again upon the island of Capreæ. Here he plunged anew into his unseemly indulgences, meanwhile keeping the streets of Rome wet with the blood of his victims. Multitudes sought refuge from his tyrannies in suicide. "I care not that the people hate me," said he, "if only they obey me."

Finally, in the year A.D. 37, death relieved the world of the monster, in the twenty-third year of his reign and the seventy-eighth of his age. His end was probably hastened by his attendants, who are believed to have smothered the wretch in his bed when in the last stages of a mortal illness. His name lives in history as the synonym of cruelty, tyranny, and scandalous debauchery.

It was in the midst of this disgraceful reign that, in a distant province of the Roman Empire, the Saviour was crucified.

Reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41).—Caius Cæsar, better known as Caligula, son of Germanicus, was only twenty-five years of age when the death of Tiberius called him to the throne. His surname Caligula was given him by the German legions, because, when a little boy, he was kept by his father in the camp, and to please the men dressed like a little soldier with military buskins (*caligæ*).

His career was very similar to that of Tiberius. At first he ruled with mildness, but soon rivalled his predecessor in his excesses and cruelties. He seemed transformed into a madman. Indeed, it is the charitable surmise of many that the taint of insanity ran in the Claudian blood, and that the terrible malady was developed in the different members of the family who wore the imperial purple, by the excitements and indulgences of their lives.

After a few months spent in arduous application to the affairs of the empire, during which time his many acts of kindness and piety won for him the affections of all classes, the

mind of the young emperor became unsettled. His rest was feverish; and often he paced the halls of his palace the night through with wild and incoherent ravings. He soon gave himself up to the most detestable dissipations. The cruel sports of the amphitheatre possessed for him a strange fascination. When animals failed, he ordered spectators to be seized indiscriminately and thrown to the beasts. He even entered the lists himself, and fought as a gladiator upon the arena.

Stories without number are told illustrating his insanities and extravagances. Upon the death of one of his sisters, he decreed that "if any one dared mourn for her death he should be punished, for she had become a goddess; if any one rejoiced at her deification, he should be punished also, for she was dead." He is said to have caused persons to be tortured at his banquets, that their cries and groans might add to the enjoyment of the meal. He lamented that no great calamity marked his reign, such as that which had occurred in the reign of Tiberius, when fifty thousand persons lost their lives in the fall of the great theatre at Fidenæ. In a sanguinary mood, he wished that "the people of Rome had but one neck." He built a bridge from his palace on the Palatine to the temple on the Capitoline, that he might be "next neighbor" to Jupiter. In order to rival the Hellespontine bridges of Xerxes, he constructed a bridge over the bay at Baiæ. The structure broke beneath the triumphal procession on the day of dedication; and Caligula, delighted with the spectacle of the struggling victims, forbade any one to attempt to save the drowning.

He emulated the example of Cleopatra by dissolving costly gems and drinking them at a draught. A single dinner cost four hundred thousand dollars. As an insult to his nobles he gave out that he proposed to make his favorite horse, Incitatus, consul, and frequently invited the steed from his ivory stable to eat gilded grain at the imperial board. Tiberius had left Caligula a treasure of one hundred millions of dollars, all of which

he spent in a single year. While it lasted, however, he enjoyed it to the utmost by "wading barefoot through his heaps of gold, or with insane delight rolling himself upon them like a dog." He personated in turn all the gods and goddesses, arraying himself at one time as Hercules or Bacchus, and again as Juno or Venus. He declared himself divine, set up his statues for worship, and even removed the head of Jupiter's statues and put on his own.

During his reign he set out on an expedition against Britain ; but on reaching the sea he set his soldiers to work collecting shells along the beach, which "spoils of the ocean" he then sent back to Rome as the trophies of his enterprise. A campaign against the Germans ended at the Rhenish frontier with not captives enough in his hands for a triumph ; accordingly, he hired, so the story runs, a great number of Gauls to personate German prisoners, and thus supplied the embarrassing deficiency.

After four years the insane career of Caligula was brought to a close by some of the officers of the prætorian guard whom he had wantonly insulted.

Reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). — Caligula had named no successor. The Senate began to debate whether the Republic should not be restored ; but, while they were engaged in the discussion, the prætorians brought forward Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, whom they had found concealed in the palace, and declared him emperor. Claudius, now an old man, had been from a child feeble in body and mind ; yet now when he was placed, much to his own amazement and distress, at the head of the Roman state, he exhibited no inconsiderable ability, and certainly displayed much zeal and assiduity in the administration of affairs.

The reign of Claudius was signalized by the conquest of Britain. A century had now passed since the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar, who, as has been seen, simply made a

reconnoissance of the island and then withdrew. Meanwhile, a large trade had grown up between the island and the mainland, where the arts and products of Roman civilization were being rapidly disseminated. This intercourse had given the Romans a considerable knowledge of Britain, and they coveted the country. Claudius conquered all the southern portion of the island, and founded many colonies, which in time became important centres of Roman trade and culture. The leader of the Britons was Caractacus, chief of the Silures, a tribe which held the mountains of Wales. He was taken captive and carried to Rome. Gazing in astonishment upon the magnificence of the imperial city, he exclaimed, "How can a people possessed of such splendor at home envy Caractacus his humble cottage in Britain?"

Claudius distinguished his reign by the execution of many important works. At the mouth of the Tiber he constructed a magnificent harbor, called the Portus Romanus. The Claudian Aqueduct, which he completed, was a stupendous work, bringing water to the city from a distance of forty-five miles.

The delight of the people in gladiatorial shows had at this time become almost an insane frenzy. Claudius determined to give an entertainment that should render insignificant all similar efforts. Upon a large lake, whose sloping banks afforded seats for the vast multitudes of spectators, he exhibited a naval battle, in which two opposing fleets, bearing nineteen thousand gladiators, fought as though in real battle, till the water was filled with thousands of bodies, and covered with the fragments of the broken ships.

Throughout his life Claudius was ruled by intriguing favorites and unworthy wives. His third consort, whom all the world have concurred in calling the "infamous Messalina," engaged in such shameful intrigues against the honor and life of her husband that he at last ordered her to be executed. Those who wished to exaggerate the stolid imbecility of Claudius reported that the emperor, forgetting the incident, fre-

quently inquired afterwards of his slaves why his wife was absent from the table. For his fourth wife Claudius married the "wicked Agrippina," who secured his death by means of a dish of poisoned mushrooms, in order to make place for the succession of her son Nero.

Reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68).—Nero was fortunate in having for his preceptor the great philosopher and moralist Seneca; but never was teacher more unfortunate in his pupil. For five years Nero, under the influence of Seneca and Burrhus, the latter the commander of the prætorians, ruled with moderation and equity. But his own mother, Agrippina, intrigued against him in favor of a younger son; and Nero, after failing in an attempt to drown her while she was crossing the bay at Baiæ, secured her death by the hand of an assassin. He now broke away from the guidance of his tutor Seneca, and entered upon a career filled with crimes of almost incredible enormity. The dagger and poison—the latter a means of murder the use of which at Rome had become a "fine art," and was in the hands of those who made it a regular profession—were employed almost unceasingly, to remove persons that had incurred his hatred, or who possessed wealth that he coveted. Like Caligula, he degraded the imperial purple by contending in the gladiatorial combats of the arena and in the games of the circus.

It was in the tenth year of his reign that the famous Great Fire laid more than half of Rome in ashes. Temples, monuments, and buildings of every description were swept away by the flames, that surged like a sea through the valleys and about the base of the hills occupied by the city. The people, in the dismay of the moment, were ready to catch up any rumor respecting the origin of the fire. It was reported that Nero had ordered the conflagration to be lighted, and that from the roof of his palace he had enjoyed the spectacle, and amused himself by singing a poem which he himself had written, entitled the "Sack of Troy."

Nero did everything in his power to discredit the rumor. He went in person amidst the sufferers, and distributed money with his own hand. To further turn attention from himself, he accused the Christians of having conspired to destroy the city, in order to help out their prophecies. The doctrine which was taught by some of the new sect respecting the second coming of Christ, and the destruction of the world by fire, lent color to the charge. The persecution that followed was one of the most cruel recorded in the history of the Church. Many victims were covered with pitch and burned at night, to serve as torches in the imperial gardens. Tradition preserves the names of the apostles Peter and Paul as victims of this Nero-nian persecution.

As to Rome, the conflagration was a blessing in disguise. Requisitions of money and material were made upon all the Roman world for the rebuilding of the burnt districts. The city rose from its ashes as quickly as Athens from her ruins at the close of the Persian wars. The new buildings were made fire-proof; and the narrow, crooked streets reappeared as broad and beautiful avenues. Water was distributed from the aqueducts through all the houses and grounds. A considerable portion of the burnt region was appropriated by Nero for the buildings and grounds of an immense palace, called the "Golden House." It covered so much space that the people "maliciously hinted" that Nero had fired the old city, in order to make room for it.

The emperor secured money for his enormous expenditures by new extortions, murders, and confiscations. No one of wealth knew but that his turn might come next. A conspiracy was formed among the nobles to relieve the state of the monster. The plot was discovered, and again "the city was filled with funerals." Lucan the poet, and Seneca, the old preceptor of Nero, both fell victims to the tyrant's rage.

Nero now made a tour through the East, and there plunged deeper and deeper into every shame, sensuality, and crime.

The tyranny and the disgrace were no longer endurable. Almost at the same moment the legions in several of the provinces revolted. The Senate decreed that he was a public enemy, and condemned him to a disgraceful death by scourging, to avoid which he instructed a slave how to give him a fatal thrust. His last words were, "What a loss my death will be to art!"

Nero was the sixth and last of the Julian line. The family of the Great Cæsar was now extinct; but the name remained, and was adopted by all the succeeding emperors.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (A.D. 68-69).—These three names are usually grouped together, as their reigns were all short and uneventful. The succession, upon the death of Nero and the extinction in him of the Julian line, was in dispute, and the legions in different quarters supported the claims of their favorite leaders. One after another the three aspirants named were killed in bloody struggles for the imperial purple. The last, Vitellius, was hurled from the throne by the soldiers of Vespasian, the old and beloved commander of the legions in Palestine, which were at this time engaged in war with the Jews.

Reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79).—It was the happy fortune of Flavius Vespasian to have his reign mark the beginning of a period, embracing three reigns, so free from tyranny and so prosperous that it is called, after him, "The Flavian Age." The reign of Vespasian was signalized both by famous military achievements abroad and by stupendous works undertaken at Rome.

After one of the most harassing sieges recorded in history, Jerusalem was taken by Titus, son of Vespasian. The Temple was destroyed, and more than one million of Jews that were crowded in the city are believed to have perished. Great multitudes suffered death by crucifixion. The miserable remnants of the nation were scattered everywhere over the world.

Josephus, the great historian, accompanied the conqueror to Rome. In imitation of Nebuchadnezzar, Titus robbed the Temple of its sacred utensils, and bore them away as trophies. Upon the triumphal arch at Rome that bears his name may be seen at the present day the sculptured representation of the golden candlestick, which was one of the memorials of the war.

In the opposite corner of the empire a dangerous revolt of the Gauls was suppressed, and in the island of Britain the Roman commander Agricola subdued or crowded back the native tribes until he had extended the frontiers of the empire into what is now Scotland. Then, as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians, the ancestors of the Scottish Highlanders, he constructed a line of fortresses from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde.

Vespasian rebuilt the Capitoline temple, which had been burned during the struggle between his soldiers and the adherents of Vitellius; he constructed a new forum which bore his own name; and also began the erection of the celebrated Flavian amphitheatre, which was completed by his successor. After a most prosperous reign of ten years, Vespasian died A.D. 79, the first emperor after Augustus that did not meet with a violent death. At the last moment he requested his attendants to raise him upon his feet that he might "die standing," as befitted a Roman emperor.

Reign of Titus (A.D. 79-81).—In a short reign of two years Titus won the title, the "Delight of Mankind." He was unwearied in acts of benevolence and in bestowal of favors. It is of this prince that the story is related that, having let a day slip by without some act of kindness performed, he exclaimed, reproachfully, "I have lost a day."

Titus completed and dedicated the great Flavian amphitheatre begun by his father, Vespasian. This vast structure, which accommodated more than eighty thousand spectators, is better known as the Colosseum—a name given it either

because of its gigantic proportions, or on account of a colossus of Nero which happened to stand near it. The dedicatory games lasted one hundred days, and more than five thousand wild beasts were killed upon the arena.

The reign of Titus, though so short, was signalized by two great disasters. The first was a conflagration at Rome, which was almost as calamitous as the Great Fire in the reign of Nero. The second was the destruction, by an eruption of Vesuvius, of the Campanian cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The Romans seem to have been ignorant of the volcanic character of Vesuvius ; and these cities, with their beautiful homes, temples, and gardens, nestled securely at the foot of the treacherous mountain (Merivale).

The cities were buried beneath showers of ashes and streams of boiling mud and lava. Pliny the elder, the great naturalist, venturing too near the mountain to investigate the phenomenon, lost his life. In the year 1713, sixteen centuries after the destruction of the cities, the ruins were discovered by some persons engaged in digging a well, and since then extensive excavations have been made, which have uncovered a large part of Pompeii, and revealed to us the streets, homes, theatres, baths, shops, temples, and various monuments of the ancient city—all of which present to us a very real picture of Roman life during the imperial period, two thousand years ago.

Domitian—Last of the Twelve Cæsars (A.D. 81–96).—Domitian, the brother of Titus, was the last of the line of emperors known as “the Twelve Cæsars.” The title, however, was assumed, and is applied to all succeeding emperors ; the only reason that the first twelve princes are grouped together is because the Roman biographer Suetonius completed the lives of that number only.

Domitian was capricious, effeminate, and cruel. His reign was an exact contrast to that of his brother Titus. It was one succession of extravagances, tyrannies, confiscations, and mur-

ders. Under this emperor took place what is known in Church history as "the second persecution of the Christians." This class, as well as the Jews, were the special objects of Domitian's hatred, because they refused to worship the statues of himself which he had set up. It is told in illustration of his cruel disposition that he occupied his leisure in putting flies to death by ingenious tortures. At last the empress, discovering that her name headed a list of persons whom the caprice of her royal husband had devoted to slaughter, conspired with the freedmen of the imperial family to assassinate the tyrant. The plot was consummated ; and the last of the Twelve Cæsars perished in his own palace, and by the hands of members of his own household. The Senate ordered his infamous name to be erased from the public monuments, and to be blotted from the records of the Roman State.

Reign of Nerva (A.D. 96-98).—The five emperors—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—that succeeded Domitian were elected by the Senate, which during this period assumed something of its former weight and influence in the affairs of the empire. The wise and beneficent administration of the government by these rulers secured for them the enviable distinction of being called "the five good emperors." Nerva was an aged senator, who seemed to have preserved the virtues of the olden times. He was a native of Crete, and was the first ruler chosen from the provincials. From this time on the wearers of the purple were usually of other than Roman descent.

If Nerva had any fault, it was that he was too lenient. He was himself conscious of his lack of sufficient firmness to control the turbulent prætorians and legionaries, and so, early in his reign, associated with him in the government the able commander Trajan, who was at the head of the army on the Rhenish frontier. Nerva died after a short reign of sixteen months, and the sceptre passed into the stronger hands of his chosen associate.

Reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117).—Trajan was a native of Spain, and a soldier by profession and talent. His ambition to achieve military renown led him to undertake distant and important conquests. It was the policy of Augustus—a policy adopted by most of his successors—to make the Danube in Europe and the Euphrates in Asia the limits of the Roman empire in those respective quarters. But Trajan determined to push the frontiers of his dominions beyond both these rivers, scorning to permit Nature by these barriers to mark out the confines of Roman sovereignty.

He crossed the Danube by means of a bridge the foundations of which may still be seen, and subjugated the bold and warlike tribes lying behind that stream—tribes that had often threatened the peace of the empire. After celebrating his victories in a magnificent triumph at Rome, Trajan turned to the East. He had scarcely set his foot upon land at Antioch, in Northern Syria, before a terrible earthquake shook that city to pieces (A.D. 115). One of the consuls was killed, and Trajan himself narrowly escaped with his life. With his army, thus strangely shattered, reorganized, Trajan led his legions across the Euphrates, reduced Armenia, and wrested from Chosroes, king of the Parthians, his great capital Ctesiphon, upon the Tigris, and most of the territory lying in the basin of that river, and which anciently formed the heart of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchies.

It was during this campaign that Trajan built upon the headwaters of the Euphrates—which region at that time seems to have been heavily wooded—a large fleet, with which he sailed down that river to the Persian Gulf. There visions of the more extended expeditions of Alexander fired the ambition of the old chieftain, and he is said to have exclaimed, "Were I yet young, I would not stop till I too had reached the limits of the Macedonian conquest."

To Trajan belongs the distinction of extending the boundaries of the empire to the most distant points to which Roman

ambition and prowess were ever able to push them. But Trajan was something besides a soldier. He had a taste for literature, and under his patronage wrote Juvenal, Plutarch, and the younger Pliny; and, moreover, as is true of almost all great conquerors, he had a perfect passion for building. He adorned not only Rome, but many of the cities of the distant provinces, with splendid temples, theatres, and various architectural monuments. An ancient writer declares that "he built the world over;" and by Constantine he was compared to "a wall-flower, because his name was so often seen inscribed upon the front of his innumerable buildings."

Among the great works with which he embellished the capital was the Trajan Forum. Here he erected the celebrated marble shaft known as Trajan's Column. It is one hundred and forty-seven feet high, and is wound from base to summit by a spiral band of sculptures, containing more than twenty-five thousand human figures. The column is nearly as perfect to-day as when reared eighteen centuries ago. It was intended to commemorate the Dacian conquests of Trajan; and its pictured sides are the best, and almost the only, record we now possess of those Danubian campaigns. Trajan also enlarged the Circus Maximus, drawing out its walls to such an immense circuit that it could accommodate two or three hundred thousand spectators.

Trajan died A.D. 117, after a reign of nineteen years, one of the most prosperous and fortunate that had yet befallen the lot of the Roman people. The Senate early in his reign had conferred upon him the title of *Optimus*, the "Best." After him it was thought a graceful compliment to pay an emperor to say that "he was more fortunate than Augustus and better than Trajan."

Reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138).—Hadrian, a kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him in the imperial office. He possessed great ability, and displayed admirable moderation and prudence

in the administration of the government. He gave up the territory conquered by Trajan, withdrawing the legions from the districts beyond the Danube and the Euphrates—breaking down the bridge Trajan had built over the former—and making those streams once more the boundaries of the empire. He saw clearly that the authority of Rome could be upheld in those distant regions only by the constant and lavish expenditure of men and treasure. Indeed, so active and threatening were the enemies of the empire in the East, and so daring and numerous were now become its barbarian assailants of the North, that there was reason for the greatest anxiety lest they should even break through the older and stronger lines, and pour their devastating hordes over the provinces.

More than fifteen years of his reign were spent by Hadrian in making tours of inspection through all the different provinces of the empire. He visited Britain, and secured the Roman possessions there by drawing a continuous wall across the island along the line of towers and fortified camps built by Agricola. Next he journeyed through Gaul and Spain, and then visited in different tours all the remaining countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. He ascended the Nile and, traveller-like, carved his name upon the Vocal Memnon. The cities which he visited he decorated with temples, theatres, and other monuments. Some places, however, including Antioch, which received their emperor ungraciously, he neglected to make the recipients of his royal liberality. The atmosphere of Athens, with its schools and scholars, was especially congenial to his inquiring spirit; and upon that city he lavished large sums in art adornments until it almost seemed as though the Periclean Age had returned to the Attic capital.

In the year 131, the Jews in Palestine, who had in a measure recovered from the blow Titus had given their nation, broke out in desperate revolt because of the planting of a Roman colony upon the then almost desolate site of Jerusalem, and the placing of the statue of Jupiter in the Holy

Temple. More than half a million of Jews perished in the useless struggle, and the survivors were driven into exile—the last dispersion of the race.

The latter years of his reign Hadrian passed at Rome. It was here that this princely builder erected his most splendid structures. Among these were the Temple of Rome and Venus, pronounced the most magnificent of Roman temples; and the Mole, or Mausoleum, of Hadrian, an immense structure surmounted by a gilded dome, erected on the banks of the Tiber, and designed as a tomb for himself. After the Colosseum, the ruins of this massive edifice (now known as the Castle of St. Angelo) are the most imposing remains of the monuments of ancient Rome.

With all his virtues, Hadrian was foolishly vain of his accomplishments, impatient of contradiction, and often most unreasonable and imperious. It is related that he put to death the architect Apollodorus for venturing to criticise the royal taste in some architectural matter. Favorinus, the rhetorician, was evidently more judicious; for when asked “why he suffered the emperor to silence him in an argument on a point of grammar, he replied, ‘It is ill disputing with the master of thirty legions.’”

First Two of the Antonines (A.D. 138–180).—Aurelius Antoninus, surnamed Pius, the adopted son of Hadrian and his successor, gave the Roman empire an administration singularly pure and parental. Of him it has been said that “he was the first, and, saving his colleague and successor Aurelius, the only, one of the emperors who devoted himself to the task of government with a single view to the happiness of his people.” Throughout his long reign of twenty-three years, the empire was in a state of profound peace. The attention of the historian is attracted by no striking events, which, as many have not failed to observe, illustrates admirably the oft-repeated maxim, “Happy is that people whose annals are brief.”

Antoninus, early in his reign, associated with him in the government his adopted son Marcus Aurelius, and upon the death of the former (A.D. 161) the latter succeeded quietly to his place and work. His studious habits won for him the title of "Philosopher." He belonged to the school of the Stoics, and was a most thoughtful writer. His "Meditations" breathe the tenderest sentiments of devotion and benevolence, and make the nearest approach to the spirit of Christianity of all the writings of Pagan antiquity. He established an Institution, or Home, for orphan girls; and, finding the poorer classes throughout Italy burdened by their taxes and greatly in arrears in paying them, he caused all the tax-claims to be heaped in the Forum and burned.

Aurelius's tastes and sympathies would have led him to desire a life passed in retirement and study at the capital; but hostile movements of the Parthians, and especially invasions of the barbarians along the Rhenish and Danubian frontiers, called him from his books, and forced him to spend most of the latter years of his reign in the camp. The Parthians, who had violated their treaty with Rome, were chastised by the lieutenants of the emperor, and Mesopotamia again fell under Roman authority.

This war drew after it a series of terrible calamities. The returning soldiers brought with them the Asiatic plague, which swept off vast numbers, especially in Italy, where entire cities and districts were depopulated. In the general distress and panic, the superstitious people were led to believe that it was the new sect of Christians that had called down upon the nation the anger of the gods. Aurelius permitted a fearful persecution to be instituted against them, during which the famous Christian fathers and bishops, Justin Martyr and Polycarp, suffered death.

But pestilence and persecution were both forgotten amidst the imperative calls for immediate help that now came from the North. The barbarians were pushing in the Roman out-

posts, and pouring impetuously over the frontiers. To the panic of the plague was added this new terror. Aurelius placed himself at the head of his legions, and hurried beyond the Alps. For many years, amidst the snows of winter and the heats of summer, he strove to beat back the assailants of the empire.

Once his army was completely surrounded, and his soldiers were dying of thirst, when a violent thunder-storm not only relieved their sufferings, but also struck such terror into the barbarians as to scatter them in flight. The Romans thought that Jupiter Tonans had interfered in their behalf; but the Christians that made up the twelfth legion claimed that God had sent the rain in answer to their prayers. The Christians received the title of the "Thundering Legion;" while upon the Column of Aurelius at Rome—where it may still be seen—was carved the scene in which Olympian Jove the Thunderer is represented "raining and lightening out of heaven."

The efforts of the devoted Aurelius checked the inroads of the barbarians; but he could not subdue them, so weakened was the empire by the ravages of the pestilence, and so exhausted was the treasury from the heavy and constant drains upon it. At last his weak body gave way beneath the hardships of his numerous campaigns, and he died in his camp at Vindobona (now Vienna), in the nineteenth year of his reign and the fifty-ninth of his age (A.D. 180).

The united voice of the Senate and people pronounced him a god, and divine worship was accorded to his statue. Never was Monarchy so justified of her children as in the lives and works of the first two Antonines. As Merivale, in dwelling upon their virtues, very justly remarks, "the blameless career of these illustrious princes has furnished the best excuse for Cæsarism in all after-ages."

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO MARCUS AURELIUS.

(From 31 B.C. to A.D. 180.)

Augustus reigns.....	31 B.C. to A.D. 14
Tiberius.....	A.D. 14-37
Caligula.....	37-41
Claudius.....	41-54
Nero.....	54-68
Galba.....	68-69
Otho.....	69
Vitellius.....	69
Vespasian.....	69-79
Titus.....	79-81
Domitian.....	81-96
Nerva.....	96-98
Trajan.....	98-117
Hadrian.....	117-138
Antoninus Pius.....	138-161
{ Marcus Aurelius.....	161-180
{ Verus associated with Aurelius.....	161-169

The first eleven, in connection with Julius Cæsar, are called the Twelve Cæsars. The last five (excluding Verus) are known as the Five Good Emperors.

CHAPTER XXXII.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

(A.D. 180-476.)

Reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192).—Under the wise and able administration of “the five good emperors”—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—the Roman Empire reached its culmination in power and prosperity; and now, under the enfeebling influences of vice and corruption within, and the heavy blows of the barbarians without, begins to decline rapidly to its fall.

Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, and the last of the Antonines, was a most unworthy successor of his illustrious father. For three years, however, surrounded by the able generals and wise counsellors that the prudent administration of the preceding emperors had drawn to the head of affairs, Commodus ruled with fairness and lenity, when an unsuccessful conspiracy against his life seemed suddenly to kindle all the slumbering passions of a Nero. An unfortunate word from the assailant, who, as he struck an ill-aimed blow with his dagger, exclaimed, “The Senate sends you this,” determined upon whom the rage of the tyrant should be spent. Remorseless murder and proscription of the most eminent of the senatorial body now followed. He secured the favor of the rabble with the shows of the amphitheatre, and purchased the support of the prætorians with bribes and flatteries. Thus he was enabled for ten years to retain the throne, while perpetrating all manner of cruelties, and staining the imperial purple with the most detestable debaucheries and crimes.

Commodus had a passion for gladiatorial combats, and val-

iantly slew antagonists who were armed only with worthless foils of lead. He was thus enabled to descend into the arena seven hundred and thirty times. The Senate, so obsequiously servile had that body become, conferred upon him the title of the Roman Hercules, and also voted him the additional surnames of Pius and Felix, and even proposed to change the name of Rome and call it Colonia Commodiana.

In imitation of the ancient demi-god of strength whose name he now bore, the emperor, on one occasion, slew with a hundred arrows—shot from a secure eminence—a hundred lions turned loose in the arena ; while at another time, to exhibit his prowess, he caused himself, attired in a lion's skin and armed with the club of Hercules, to be set upon by persons arrayed to represent mythological monsters, and armed with great sponges for rocks. He then boldly attacked these terrible assailants, and slew them with his club. He delighted in slaying with his own hand the victims of the sacrifices. It is told that he further "amused himself by cutting off the noses of persons he pretended to shave." He prudently refused to allow a razor to be applied to his own face, but singed off his beard.

The empire was finally relieved of the insane tyrant by some members of the royal household, who anticipated his designs against themselves by putting him to death.

The Public Sale of the Empire.—Deep as was the degradation into which the shameful conduct of Commodus had sunk the empire, it was now to suffer a still deeper degradation at the hands of the prætorians. Upon the death of Commodus, Pertinax, a distinguished senator, was placed on the throne ; but his efforts to enforce discipline among the prætorians aroused their anger, and he was slain by them after a short reign of only three months. These soldiers then gave out notice that they would sell the empire to the highest bidder. It was, accordingly, set up for sale at the prætorian camp,

and struck off to Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who gave \$1000 to each of the 12,000 soldiers at this time composing the guard. So the price of the empire was about \$12,000,000.

But these turbulent and insolent soldiers at the capital of the empire were not to have things entirely their own way. As soon as the news of the disgraceful transaction reached the legions on the frontiers, they rose as a single man in indignant revolt. Each of the three armies that held the Euphrates, the Rhine, and the Danube proclaimed its favorite commander emperor. The leader of the Danubian troops was Septimius Severus, a man of great energy and force of character. He knew that there were other competitors for the throne, and that the prize would be his who first seized it. Instantly he set his veterans in motion and was soon at Rome. The prætorians were no match for the trained legionaries of the frontiers, and did not even attempt to defend their emperor, who was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of sixty-five days.

Reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211).—One of the first acts of Severus was to organize a new body-guard of 50,000 legionaries, to take the place of the unworthy prætorians, whom, as a punishment for the insult they had offered to the Roman state, he disbanded, and banished from the capital, and forbade to approach within a hundred miles of its walls. He next proceeded to crush his two rival competitors. Moving first against Niger, in the East, he brushed his forces away from the Hellespont, where he attempted to dispute his passage, and finally broke his legions to pieces on the old battlefield of the Issus. Then, hastening back into Europe, he met the remaining rival, Albinus, at Lyons, in Gaul, and there defeated him after a most desperate and sanguinary battle.

Severus was now undisputed master of the empire. He put to death forty senators for having favored his late rivals, and

completely destroyed the power of their body. Committing to the prefect of the new prætorian guard the management of affairs at the capital, Severus passed the greater part of his long and prosperous reign upon the frontiers. At one time he was chastising the Parthians beyond the Euphrates, and at another pushing back the Caledonian tribes from the Hadrian wall in the opposite corner of his dominions. Finally, in Britain, in his camp at York, death overtook him. Just before he died he requested that the funeral urn designed for his ashes should be brought to him: "Little urn," he moralized, "thou shalt soon hold all that will remain of him whom the world could not contain." Like many another child of fortune, Severus had lived long enough to discover the empty, unsubstantial character of the objects of all human ambitions.

Reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217).—Severus conferred the empire upon his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, who were with him in Britain. Immediately upon the death of their father they set out for Rome, travelling separate all the way, so bitter were their quarrels. At the capital they lived apart. The joint reign ran on thus only a single year, when Caracalla stabbed his brother while their mother vainly strove to shield him in her arms. He then ordered Papinian, the famous jurist, to make a public argument in vindication of the fratricide; and when that great lawyer refused, saying that "it was easier to commit such a crime than to justify it," he put him to death. Thousands fell victims to his senseless rage. His countenance was that of "a wild beast rather than a man." Driven by remorse and fear, he fled from the capital, and wandered about the most distant provinces. At Alexandria, on account of some uncomplimentary remarks by the citizens upon his appearance, he ordered a general massacre. Finally, after a reign of six years, the monster was slain in a remote corner of Syria.

Caracalla's sole political act of real importance was the bestowal of citizenship upon all the free inhabitants of the em-

pire ; and this he did, not to give them a just privilege, but that he might collect from them certain special taxes levied by Augustus on persons receiving bequests or making sales of merchandise, which only Roman citizens had to pay. Before the reign of Caracalla it was only particular classes of subjects, or the inhabitants of some particular city or province, that, as a mark of special favor, had, from time to time, been admitted to the rights of citizenship. By this wholesale act of Caracalla, the entire population of the empire was made Roman at least in name and nominal privilege. "The city had become the world, or, viewed from the other side, the world had become the city" (Merivale).

Reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222).—Upon the death of Caracalla, the purple was assumed by Macrinus, the officer who had instigated the murder of the emperor. He remained in the East, where the severity of his discipline caused the soldiers who had raised him to power to revolt. The garrison at Emesa set up as emperor Elagabalus, a beautiful boy who in that place officiated as high-priest in the temple of the Syrian sun-god, and whom the soldiers were led to believe was the son of the murdered Caracalla. The legions that adhered to Macrinus were quickly crushed, and he himself was slain.

So un-Roman had the Romans become that this Oriental priest, thus thrust forward by the Syrian legions, was at once recognized at Rome by both Senate and people as their emperor. He carried to Italy all his Eastern notions and manners, and there entered upon a short reign of four years, characterized by all those extravagances and cruel follies that are so apt to mark the rule of an Asiatic despot. The palace was the scene of the most profligate dissipation. He created a senate of women whose duty it was to attend to matters of dress, calls, amusements, and etiquette. He introduced at Rome the worship of the sun, bearing thither from Syria the black conical stone which, like the image of Diana at Ephesus,

was believed to have fallen from heaven. "In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the way was strewn with gold-dust ; the black stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn by milk-white steeds richly caparisoned. The pious emperor held the reins, and, supported by his ministers, moved slowly backwards, that he might perpetually enjoy the felicity of the divine presence" (Gibbon). The stone was deposited in a splendid temple on the Palatine.

The prætorians, at length tired of their priest-emperor, put him to death, threw his body into the Tiber, and set up in his place Alexander Severus, a kinsman of the murdered prince.

Reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235).—Severus restored the virtues of the Age of the Antonines. His administration was pure and energetic ; but he strove in vain to resist the corrupt and downward tendencies of the times. He was assassinated, after a reign of fourteen years, by his seditious soldiers, who were angered by his efforts to reduce them to discipline. They conferred the imperial purple upon an obscure officer named Maximin, a Thracian peasant, whose sole recommendation was his gigantic stature, and his great strength of limbs. Rome had now sunk to the lowest possible degradation. We may pass rapidly over the next fifty years of the empire.

The Thirty Tyrants (A.D. 251–268).—Maximin was followed swiftly by Gordian, Philip, and Decius, and then came what is called the "Age of the Thirty Tyrants." In every part of the kingdom sprang up competitors for the throne—several rivals frequently appearing in the field at the same time. The barbarians pressed upon all the frontiers, and thrust themselves into all the provinces. The empire seemed on the point of falling to pieces. But a fortunate succession of five good emperors—Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus (A.D. 268–284)—restored for a time the ancient boundaries, and

again forced together into some sort of union the fragments of the shattered state.

The Fall of Palmyra.—The most noted of the usurpers of authority in the provinces during the period of anarchy of which we have spoken was Odenatus, Prince of Palmyra, a city occupying an oasis in the midst of the Syrian Desert, midway between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. In gratitude for the aid he had rendered the Romans against the Parthians, the Senate had bestowed upon him titles and honors. When the empire began to show signs of weakness and approaching dissolution, Odenatus conceived the ambitious project of erecting upon its ruins in the East a great Palmyrian kingdom. Upon his death, his wife, Zenobia, succeeded to his authority and to his ambitions. This famous princess claimed descent from Cleopatra, and it is certain that in the charms of personal beauty she was the rival of the Egyptian queen. Boldly assuming the title of "Queen of the East," she bade defiance to the emperors of Rome. Aurelian marched against her, and, defeating her armies in the open field, drove them within the walls of Palmyra. After a long siege the city was taken, and finally given to the flames. The adviser of the queen, the celebrated rhetorician Longinus, was put to death; but Zenobia was spared, and carried a captive to Rome. After having been led in golden chains in the triumphal procession of Aurelian, the queen was given a beautiful villa in the vicinity of Tibur, where, surrounded by her children, she passed the remainder of her checkered life.

The ruins of Palmyra are among the most interesting remains of Roman or Grecian civilization in the East. For a long time the site even of the city was lost to the civilized world. The Bedouins, however, knew the spot, and told strange stories of a ruined city with splendid temples and long colonnades far away in the Syrian Desert. Their accounts awakened an interest in the wonderful city, and towards the

close of the seventeenth century some explorers reached the spot. The sketches they brought back of the ruins of the long-lost city produced almost as much astonishment as did the discoveries afterwards of Botta and Layard at Nineveh. Hadrian, the Antonines, and other Roman emperors aided the ambitious Palmyrians in the architectural adornment of their city. The principal features of the ruins are the remains of the great temple of the Sun, and of the Colonnade, which was almost a mile in length. Many of the marble columns that flanked this magnificent avenue are still erect, stretching in a long line over the desert.

Reign of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305).—The reign of Diocletian marks an important era in Roman history. Up to this time the imperial government had been more or less carefully concealed under the forms and names of the old republic. The government now became an unveiled and absolute monarchy. Diocletian's reforms, though radical, were salutary, and infused such fresh vitality into the frame of the dying state as to give it a new lease of life for another term of nearly two hundred years.

He determined to divide the numerous and increasing cares of the distracted empire, so that it might be ruled from two centres—one in the East and the other in the West. In pursuance of this plan, he chose as a colleague a companion soldier, Maximian, upon whom he conferred the title of Augustus. After a few years, finding the cares of the co-sovereignty still too heavy, each sovereign associated with himself an assistant, who took the title of Cæsar, and was considered the son and heir of the emperor. There were thus two Augusti and two Cæsars. Milan, in Italy, became the capital and residence of Maximian; while Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, became the seat of the court of Diocletian. The Augusti took charge of the countries near their respective capitals, while the younger and more active Cæsars were assigned the government of the

more distant and turbulent provinces. The vigorous administration of the government in every quarter of the empire was thus secured. The authority of each of the rulers was supreme within the territory allotted him ; but all acknowledged Diocletian as "the father and head of the state."

The most serious drawback to the system of government thus instituted was the heavy expense incident to the maintenance of four courts with their trains of officers and dependants. The subjects of the empire had reason to complain of the same grievances that in more recent times led the American colonists to indict the government of their mother-country—the sending among them of "swarms of officers to harass the people and eat out their substance." The taxes became unendurable, husbandry ceased, and large masses of the population were reduced almost to starvation.

While the changes made in the government have rendered the name of Diocletian famous in the political history of the Roman state, the cruel persecutions which he ordered against the Christians have made his name in an equal degree infamous in ecclesiastical annals ; for it was during this reign that the tenth—the last and severest—of the persecutions of the Church took place. By an imperial decree the churches of the Christians were ordered to be torn down, and they themselves were outlawed. For ten years the fugitives were hunted in forest and cave. The victims were burned, were cast to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre—were put to death by every torture and in every mode that ingenious cruelty could devise. But nothing could shake the constancy of their faith. They courted the death that secured them, as they firmly believed, immediate entrance upon an existence of unending happiness. The exhibition of devotion and constancy shown by the martyrs won multitudes to the persecuted faith.

It was during this and the various other persecutions that vexed the Church in the second and third centuries that the Christians sought refuge in the Catacombs, those vast subter-

anean galleries and chambers under the city of Rome formed by the mining of building material—the soft volcanic tufa used in making the famous Roman cement. Here the Christians lived and buried their dead, and on the walls of the chambers sketched rude symbols of their hope and faith. It was in the darkness of these subterranean abodes that Christian art had its beginnings.

Upon the twentieth anniversary of his investiture with the royal purple, Diocletian celebrated a triumph at Rome in honor of his victories and his prosperous reign. Soon after, wearied with the cares of state, he abdicated the throne, and forced or induced his colleague Maximian also to lay down his authority on the same day. Galerius and Constantius were, by this act, advanced to the purple and made Augusti; and two new associates were appointed as Cæsars. Diocletian, having enjoyed the extreme satisfaction of seeing the imperial authority quietly and successfully transmitted by his system without the dictation of the insolent prætorians or the interference of the turbulent legionaries, now retired to his country-seat at Salona, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and there devoted himself to rural pursuits. It is related that, when Maximian wrote him urging him to endeavor, with him, to regain the power they had laid aside, he replied: “Were you but to come to Salona and see the vegetables which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no longer talk to me of empire.”

Reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306–337). — Galerius and Constantius had reigned together only one year, when the latter died at York, in Britain; and his soldiers, disregarding the rule of succession as determined by the system of Diocletian, proclaimed his son Constantine emperor. Six competitors for the throne arose in different quarters. For eighteen years Constantine fought to gain supremacy. At the end of that time every rival was crushed, and he was the sole ruler of the Roman world.

Constantine was the first Christian emperor. He was converted to the new religion—such is the legend—by seeing in the heavens, during one of his campaigns against his rivals, a luminous cross with this inscription: “With this you will conquer.” He made the cross the royal standard; and the Roman legions now for the first time marched beneath the emblem of Christianity.

By the famous decree issued from Milan A.D. 313, Christianity was made in effect the state religion; but all other forms of worship were tolerated. With the view of harmonizing the different sects that had sprung up among the Christians, and to settle the controversy between the Arians and Athanasians respecting the nature of Christ—the former denied his equality with God the Father—Constantine called the first Œcumenical or General Council of the Church, at Nicæa, a town of Asia Minor, A.D. 325. Arianism was denounced, and a formula of Christian faith adopted, which is known as the Nicene Creed.

After the recognition of Christianity, the most important act of Constantine was the selection of Byzantium, on the Bosporus, as the new capital of the empire. One reason which led the emperor to choose this site in preference to Rome was the ungracious conduct towards him of the inhabitants of the latter city, because he had abandoned the worship of the old national deities. But there were political reasons for such a change. Through the eastern conquests of Rome the centre of the population, wealth, and culture of the empire had shifted eastward. The West—Gaul, Britain, Spain—was rude and barbarous; the East—Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor—was the abode of ancient civilizations from which Rome was proud to trace her origin. Constantine was not the first to entertain the idea of seeking in the East a new centre for the Roman world. The Italians were inflamed against the first Cæsar by the report that he intended to restore Ilium, the cradle of the Roman race, and make that the capital of the empire.

Constantine laid out the new city on an imperial scale. He

adorned the spot with many public buildings of great magnificence, and encouraged the members of his numerous court to erect about these their palatial residences. The splendid cathedral which he built, and consecrated to Sophia, the "Eternal Wisdom," was one of the most imposing architectural monuments to be found in all the Roman world. Constantine organized a new Senate, while that at Rome sank to the obscure position of the council of a provincial municipality. Multitudes eagerly thronged to the new capital, and almost in a night the little colony of Byzantium grew into an imperial city. In honor of the emperor its name was changed to Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." Hereafter the eyes of the world were directed towards the Bosphorus instead of the Tiber.

The character of Constantine has been greatly eulogized by Christian writers, while pagan historians very naturally painted it in dark colors. It is probable that he embraced Christianity, not entirely from conviction, but through political policy. If so, events certainly justified his forecast. It was the enthusiasm of his Christian legions, wrought to an intense fervor by the sight of the new emblem, that gave to Constantine his victory over his last rival on the field of Adrianople.

Yet Constantine's religion was, in any event, a strange mixture of the old and the new faith: on his medals the Christian cross is held by the pagan deity Victory. In his domestic relations he was tyrannical and cruel. He put to death his son Crispus for no better reason, it is believed, than that he was jealous of his rising fame; his wife he ordered to be smothered in the bath; he killed his sister, and drove his mother to death with grief and despair. He died in the thirty-first year of his reign, leaving his kingdom to his three sons, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine.

Reign of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361-363).—The parceling-out of the empire by Constantine among his sons led to

strifes and wars, which, at the end of sixteen years, left Constantius master of the whole. He reigned as sole emperor for twenty-four years, engaged in ceaseless warfare with German tribes in the West and with the Persians* in the East. The management of the war along the Rhenish line he intrusted to his cousin Julian, while he himself conducted the war upon the Mesopotamian frontier. Becoming jealous of the growing reputation of his subordinate, the emperor ordered Julian to send a large detachment of his troops to the East. The legions, unwilling to leave their beloved leader, proclaimed him emperor, and demanded to be led against Constantius. Julian, acceding (not unwillingly, we may believe) to the clamor of his soldiers, placed himself at their head, and moved directly across Europe to Constantinople. Meanwhile, Constantius was advancing through Asia Minor to meet him ; but at Tarsus he was taken sick and died, and the impending disaster of civil war was thus averted. Julian was everywhere gladly recognized as emperor (A.D. 361).

He now crossed the Bosphorus, traversed Asia Minor, floated his army down the Euphrates, and led them into the mountains of Persia, where he fell fatally wounded while pressing in pursuit of the troops of Sapor, King of the Persians (A.D. 363).

Julian is called the Apostate because he abandoned Christianity and labored to restore the pagan faith. His brother had been murdered by Constantine, and Julian was naturally repelled from the religion which that sovereign so unworthily represented. He was a philosopher by taste and genius, and was familiar with the teachings of the different schools of Greece and Rome. He was an able writer and a formidable antagonist in debate. He set himself to the task of uprooting

* The great Parthian Empire, which had been such a formidable antagonist of Rome, was, after an existence of five centuries, overthrown (A.D. 226) by a revolt of the Persians, and the New Persian or Sassanian monarchy established. This empire lasted till the country was overrun by the Saracens in the seventh century A.D.

the new religion. Not, however, by devoting the Christians "to the sword, the fire, and the lions;" for, under the softening influences of the very faith he sought to extirpate, the Roman world had learned a gentleness and humanity that rendered impossible the renewal of the old Neronian and Diocletian persecutions. Julian's weapons were sophistry and ridicule, in the use of which he was a master. To degrade the Christians, and place them at a disadvantage in controversy, he excluded them from the schools of logic and rhetoric.

Furthermore, to cast discredit upon the predictions of the Scriptures, Julian determined to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, which, the Christians contended, could not be restored because of the prophecies against it. He actually began excavations, but his workmen were driven in great panic from the spot by terrific explosions and bursts of flame. The Christians regarded the occurrence as miraculous; and Julian himself, it is certain, was so dismayed by it that he desisted from the undertaking.*

It was in vain that the apostate emperor labored to uproot the new faith; for the purity of its teachings, the universal and eternal character of its moral precepts, had given it a name to live. Equally in vain were his efforts to restore the worship of the old Grecian and Roman divinities. Polytheism was a transitional form of religious belief which the world had now outgrown—Great Pan was dead.

Reign of Jovian (A.D. 363-4).—Jovian, the successor of Julian, need only be mentioned in order to connect his name with the humiliating treaty which he concluded with Sapor, in which

* The explosions which so terrified the workmen of Julian are supposed to have been caused by accumulations of gases—similar to those that so frequently occasion accidents in mines. In the subterranean chambers beneath the Temple foundations, the operations of the laborers liberating these gases and commingling them with the outer air would account for the phenomenon.

he surrendered to the Persians almost everything beyond the Euphrates. He removed the disabilities under which Julian had placed the Christians, and re-established their worship. Jovian died while on his way from Syria to Constantinople, having worn the purple only seven months.

Valentinian and Valens.—A few days after the death of Jovian, Valentinian, the commander of the imperial guard, was elected emperor by a council of the generals of the army and the ministers of the court. When he was presented to the soldiers, they tumultuously ratified the choice of their officers. But they also proceeded, with great clamor, to urge the new emperor to appoint at once a colleague to share with him the government. After securing silence, he addressed the soldiers as follows: "The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities and the uncertainties of life; and, far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be my care. Let your conduct be dignified and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor."

The result of the deliberations of Valentinian was the appointment, at the end of a month, of his brother Valens as his associate in office. To him he assigned the Eastern provinces, while reserving for himself the Western. He set up his own court at Milan, while his brother established his residence at Constantinople.

The Movements of the Barbarians.—The reigns of Valentinian and Valens were signalized by threatening movements of the barbarian tribes that now, almost at the same moment, began to press with redoubled energy against all the barriers

of the empire. The Alemanni crossed the Rhine—sometimes swarming over the river on the winter's ice—and, before pursuit could be made, escaped with their booty into the depths of the German forests. The Saxons, pirates of the northern seas, who issued from the mouth of the Elbe, ravaged the coasts of Gaul and Britain, even pushing their light skiffs far up the rivers and creeks of those countries, and carrying spoils from the inland cities. In Britain, the Picts and Scots broke through the Wall of Antoninus, and wrested almost the entire island from the hands of the Romans. In Africa, the Moorish and other tribes, issuing from the ravines of the Atlas Mountains and swarming from the deserts of the south, threatened to obliterate the last trace of Roman civilization occupying the narrow belt of fertile territory skirting the sea.

The barbarian tide of invasion seemed thus on the point of overwhelming the empire in the West. For twelve years did Valentinian struggle, with temporary success, to resist the fearful inundation. He hurled the German tribes back into their native woods and morasses, and then strengthened the defences of the frontier. The hither bank of the Rhine fairly bristled with castles and towers. His able lieutenant Theodosius (father of Theodosius the Great) delivered the Britons from the fierce Caledonians, and drove the intruders back beyond the northern wall. He also, by a naval victory over the Saxons, gained in the northern seas, checked for a time their insolent depredations. In Africa he suppressed the Moorish revolt, and restored the authority of the Roman name.

Besides defending his own territories in the West with such signal ability and energy, Valentinian aided, with arms and counsel, his weaker brother Valens in the East. He died in the twelfth year of his reign, while leading an expedition against the Quadi, who had provoked his anger by a raid across the Upper Danube. The immediate cause of his death was the bursting of a blood-vessel in a fit of anger, to which he gave way in the presence of some barbarian ambassadors. Gratian,

the son of Valentinian, succeeded to his authority in the West (A.D. 375).

The Goths Cross the Danube.—The year following the death of Valentinian, an event of the greatest importance transpired in the East. The Visigoths (Western Goths) dwelling north of the Lower Danube, who had often in hostile bands crossed that river to war against the Roman emperors, now appeared as suppliants in vast multitudes upon its banks. They said that a terrible race, whom they were powerless to withstand, had invaded their territories, and spared neither their homes nor their lives. They begged permission of the Romans to cross the river and settle in Thrace, and promised, should this request be granted, ever to remain the grateful and firm allies of the Roman state.

Valens consented to grant their petition on condition that they should surrender their arms, give up their children as hostages, and all be baptized in the Christian faith. Their terror and despair led them to assent to these conditions. So the entire nation, numbering one million souls—counting men, women, and children—were allowed to cross the river. Several days and nights were consumed in the transport of the vast multitudes. The writers of the times liken the passage to that of the Hellespont by the hosts of Xerxes.

The enemy that had so terrified the Goths were the Huns, a monstrous race of fierce nomadic horsemen, that two centuries and more before the Christian era were roving the deserts north of the Great Wall of China,* which immense rampart

* This Great Wall is the most stupendous work of defence ever executed by man. Its construction was begun in the year 214 B.C. by the Chinese emperor Che-Hwang-to. It is about 1500 miles in length, with a varying height of from 15 to 30 feet, and is wide enough to allow six horsemen to ride upon it abreast. In places the defence is simply an earthen rampart, and then again it has a substantial base of solid stone masonry. Towers 40 feet high are scattered along the wall at different intervals.

had been built to protect the Chinese territory from their sudden incursions. Uprooted and driven from that region, they moved slowly to the west, across the great steppes of Central Asia, and, after wandering several centuries, appeared in Europe. They belonged to a different race (the Turanian) from all the other European tribes with which we have been so far concerned. Their features were hideous, their noses being flattened, and their cheeks gashed, to render their appearance more frightful, as well as to prevent the growth of a beard. The barbarous Goths might well, as they did, call them "Barbarians."

Scarcely had the fugitive Visigoths been received within the limits of the empire before their kinsmen the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), also driven from their homes by the same terrible Huns, crowded to the banks of the Danube, and pleaded that they might be allowed, as their countrymen had been, to place the river between themselves and their dreaded enemies. But Valens, becoming alarmed at the presence of so many barbarians within his dominions, refused their request; whereupon they, dreading the fierce and implacable foe behind more than the wrath of the Roman emperor in front, crossed the river with arms in their hands.

It now came to light that the cupidity of the Roman officials had prevented the carrying-out of the stipulations of the agreement between the emperor and the Visigoths respecting the relinquishment of their arms. The barbarians had bribed those intrusted with the duty of transporting them across the river, and purchased the privilege of retaining their weapons. The persons, too, detailed to provide the multitude with food till they could be assigned lands traded on the hunger of their wards, and doled out the vilest provisions at the most extortionate prices. (We seem here to be listening to a recital of the unscrupulous conduct of Indian agents on our own frontiers.)

As was natural, the injured nation rose in indignant revolt.

Joining their kinsmen that were just now forcing the passage of the Danube, they commenced, under the lead of the great Fritigern, to overrun and ravage the Danubian provinces. Valens despatched swift messengers to Gratian in the West, asking for assistance against the foe he had so unfortunately admitted within the limits of the empire. Meanwhile, he rallied all his forces, and, without awaiting the arrival of the Western legions, risked a battle with the barbarians near Adrianople. The Roman army was almost annihilated. Valens himself, being wounded, sought refuge in the cabin of a peasant; but the building was fired by the savages, and the emperor was burned alive (A.D. 378). The Goths now rapidly overran Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, ravaging the country to the very walls of Constantinople.

Theodosius the Great (A.D. 379-395).—Gratian was hurrying to the help of his colleague Valens, when news was brought to him of the terrible disaster of Adrianople. Lacking confidence in his ability to manage alone the affairs of the beleaguered empire, he at once appointed as his associate Theodosius, surnamed afterwards the Great, and intrusted him with the government of the Eastern provinces. Theodosius, by wise and vigorous measures, quickly reduced the Goths to submission. Vast multitudes of the Visigoths were settled upon the waste lands of Thrace, while the Ostrogoths were scattered in various colonies in different regions of Asia Minor. The Goths became allies of the Emperor of the East, and more than 40,000 of these warlike barbarians, who were destined to be the subverters of the empire, were enlisted in the imperial legions.

While Theodosius was thus composing the East, the West, through the jealous rivalries of different competitors for the control of the government, had fallen into great disorder, and the imperial purple, after the murder of Gratian, was worn by three aspirants in quick succession. Theodosius twice interfered to compose affairs, and finally, in A.D. 394, defeated Eu-

genius, who had usurped the throne, and then for four months ruled as sole monarch of the empire.

Final Division of the Empire (A.D. 395).—The Roman world was now united for the last time under a single master. Just before his death, Theodosius divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, assigning the former, who was only eighteen years of age, the government of the East, and giving the latter, a mere child of eleven, the sovereignty of the West. This was the final partition of the Roman Empire—the issue of that growing tendency which we have observed in its immoderately extended dominions to break apart. The separate histories of the East and the West now begin.

The Eastern Empire.—The story of the fortunes of the Empire of the East need not detain us long at this point of our history. This monarchy lasted almost exactly one full millennium—from the accession to power of Arcadius, A.D. 395, to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. It will thus be seen that the greater part of its history belongs to the mediæval period. Up to the time of the overthrow of the Western Empire, the sovereigns of the East were engaged almost incessantly in suppressing uprisings of their Gothic allies or mercenaries, or in repelling invasions of the Huns and Vandals. Frequently during this period, in order to save their own territories, the Eastern emperors, by dishonorable inducements, persuaded the barbarians to direct their ravaging expeditions against the provinces of the West.

Last Days of the Empire of the West.

First Invasion of Italy by Alaric.—Only a few years had elapsed after the death of the great Theodosius, before the barbarians were trooping in vast hordes through all the regions of the West. First, from Thrace and Mœsia came the Goths,

led by the great Alaric. They poured through the Pass of Thermopylæ, and devastated almost the entire peninsula of Greece; but, being driven from that country by Stilicho, the renowned general of Honorius, they crossed the Julian Alps, and spread terror throughout all Italy. Stilicho followed the barbarians cautiously, and, attacking them at a favorable moment, inflicted a terrible and double defeat upon them at Pol-lentia and Verona (A.D. 403), and captured their camp, which he found filled with the spoils of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta. Gathering the remnants of his shattered army, Alaric forced his way with difficulty through the defiles of the Alps, and escaped.

Last Triumph at Rome (A.D. 404).—A terrible danger had been averted. All Italy burst forth in expressions of gratitude and joy. The days of the Cimbri and Teutones were recalled, and the name of Stilicho was pronounced with that of Marius. A magnificent triumph at Rome celebrated the victory and the deliverance. The youthful Honorius and his faithful general Stilicho rode side by side in the imperial chariot. It was the last triumph that Rome ever saw. For the last time the car of the conqueror was drawn over the Sacred Way. Three hundred times—such is asserted to be the number—the Imperial City had witnessed the triumphal procession of her victorious generals, celebrating conquests in all quarters of the world.

Last Gladiatorial Combat of the Amphitheatre.—The same year that marks the last military triumph at Rome also signalizes the last gladiatorial combat in the Roman amphitheatre. Christian bishops and priests had long been striving to secure the abolition of this cruel amusement. This was finally brought about by an incident of the games that closed the triumph of Honorius. In the midst of the exhibition a Christian monk, named Telemachus, descending into the arena, rushed between the combatants, but was instantly killed by a shower of stones

thrown by the people, who were angered by this interruption of their sports. But the people soon repented of their act; and Honorius himself, who was present, was moved by the scene. Christianity had awakened the conscience and touched the heart of Rome. The martyrdom of the monk led to an imperial edict "which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre."

Invasion of Italy by the German Tribes.—While Italy was celebrating her triumph over the Goths, another and more formidable invasion was preparing in the North. The tribes beyond the Rhine—the Vandals, the Suevi, the Alani, and the Burgundians—driven from their seats near the Baltic by some unknown cause, poured in impetuous streams from the forests and morasses of Germany, and, bursting the barriers of the Alps, overspread the devoted plains of Italy. The alarm among the Italians was even greater than that inspired by the Gothic invasion; for Alaric was a Christian, while Radagaisus, the leader of the new hordes, was a superstitious savage, who paid worship to gods that required the bloody sacrifice of captive enemies.

By such efforts as Rome put forth in the younger and more vigorous days of the republic, when Hannibal was at her gates, an army was now equipped and placed under the command of Stilicho. Meanwhile the barbarians, marking their path by the signal of burning towns and villas, had advanced as far as Florence, and were now besieging that place. Stilicho here surrounded the vast host—variously estimated from 200,000 to 400,000 men—and starved them into a surrender. Their chief, Radagaisus, was put to death, and great multitudes of the barbarians that the sword and famine had spared were sold as slaves (A.D. 406).

The Ransom of Rome (A.D. 409).—Shortly after the victory of Stilicho over the German barbarians, he fell under the sus-

picion of the weak and jealous Honorius, and was executed. Thus fell the great general whose sword and counsel had twice saved Rome from the barbarians, and who might have again averted similar dangers that were now approaching. Listening further to the rash counsels of his unworthy advisers, Honorius, after the murder of his faithful general, caused a general massacre of the wives and children of the barbarians who were held as hostages in the different cities of Italy. This perfidious act provoked to instant revolt the 30,000 Gothic mercenaries in the Roman legions. Their kinsmen beyond the Alps joined with them, to avenge the slaughter. Alaric again crossed the mountains, and, pillaging the cities in his way, led his hosts to the very gates of Rome. Not since the dread Hannibal hurled his spear in defiance over the city ramparts—more than six hundred years before—had Rome been insulted by the presence of a foreign foe beneath her walls.

The barbarians by their vast number were enabled to completely surround the city, and thus cut it off from its supplies of food. Famine soon forced the Romans to sue for terms of surrender. The ambassadors of the Senate, when they came before Alaric, began, in lofty and unbecoming language, to warn him not to render the Romans desperate by hard or dishonorable terms: their fury when driven to despair, they represented, was terrible, and their number enormous. "The thicker the hay, the easier to mow it," was Alaric's derisive reply. The barbarian chieftain at length named the ransom that he would accept and spare the city: "All the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of individuals or of the state; all the rich and precious movables; and all the slaves that could prove their title to the name of barbarian." The amazed commissioners, in deprecating tones, asked, 'If such, O king, are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?' "Your lives," responded the conqueror.

The ransom was afterwards considerably modified and reduced. It was fixed at "5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver,

4000 silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, and 3000 pounds of pepper." The last-named article was much used in Roman cookery, and was very expensive, being imported from India. Merivale, in contrasting the condition of Rome at this time with her ancient wealth and grandeur, estimates that the gilding of the roof of the Capitoline temple far exceeded the entire ransom, and that it was four hundred times less than that (five milliards of francs) demanded by the Prussians of Paris, in 1871. Small as it comparatively was, the Romans were able to raise it only by the most extraordinary measures. The images of the gods were first stripped of their ornaments of gold and precious stones, and finally the statues themselves were melted down. "Among them," says the pagan writer Zosimus, "was one of Courage—of Virtue, as the Romans call her; with her disappeared from Rome all that remained of honor and valor."

Sack of Rome by Alaric (A.D. 410).—Upon retiring from Rome, Alaric established his camp in Etruria. Here he was joined by great numbers of fugitive slaves, and by fresh accessions of barbarians from beyond the Alps. The Gallic king demanded of Honorius, who, with his court, was safe among the marshes of Ravenna, lands for his followers between the Adriatic and the Danube. He held his sword over Rome and threatened its destruction if his demands were not granted. Honorius refused to treat; so Alaric turned upon the capital, cut it off from the granaries at Ostia, and thus forced open its gates, and then set up Attalus, the prefect of the city, as a rival emperor to Honorius.

Soon afterwards he deposed his puppet-king, and renewed his demands of Honorius, who treated all the proposals of the barbarian with foolish insolence. Rome now paid the penalty. Alaric turned for the third and last time upon the devoted city, determined upon its sack and plunder. The treachery of some slaves opened to the barbarians the gates of the capital by

night, "and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet." Precisely eight hundred years had passed since its sack by Brennus and the Gauls. During that time the Imperial City had carried its victorious standards over three continents, and had gathered within the temples of its gods and the palaces of its nobles the plunder of the world. Now it is given over for a spoil to the fierce tribes from beyond the Danube.

Alaric commanded his soldiers to respect the lives of the people, and to leave untouched the treasures of the Christian temples; but the wealth of the citizens he encouraged them to make their own. For six days and nights the rough barbarians trooped through the streets of the city on their mission of pillage. Their wagons were heaped with the costly furniture, the rich plate, and the silken garments stripped from the palaces of the wealthy patricians and the temples of the gods. Amidst the license of the sack, the barbarian instincts of the robbers broke loose from all restraint, and the city was everywhere wet with blood, while the nights were lighted with burning buildings.

Effects of the Disaster upon Paganism.—The overwhelming disaster that had befallen the Imperial City produced a profound impression upon both Pagans and Christians throughout the Roman world. The former asserted that these unutterable calamities had fallen upon the Roman state because of the abandonment by the people of the worship of the gods of their forefathers, under whose protection and favor Rome had become the mistress of the world. The Christians, on the other hand, saw in the fall of the Eternal City the fulfilment of the prophecies against the Babylon of the Apocalypse. The latter interpretation of the appalling calamity gained credit amidst the panic and despair of the times. The temples of the once popular deities were deserted by their worshippers, who had lost faith in gods that could neither save themselves nor pro-

tect their shrines from spoliation. "Henceforth," says Merivale, "the power of paganism was entirely broken, and the indications which occasionally meet us of its continued existence are rare and trifling. Christianity stepped into its deserted inheritance. The Christians occupied the temples, transforming them into churches."

The Death of Alaric.—After withdrawing his warriors from Rome, Alaric led them southward. As they moved slowly on, they piled still higher the wagons of their long trains with the rich spoils of the cities and villas of Campania and other provinces of Southern Italy. In the villas of the Roman nobles the rough barbarians spread rare banquets from the stores of their well-filled cellars, and drank from jewelled cups the famed Falernian wine.

Alaric led his soldiers to the extreme southern point of Italy, intending to cross the Strait of Messina into Sicily, and, after subduing that island, to carry his conquests into the provinces of Africa. His designs were frustrated by his death, which occurred A.D. 412. With religious care his followers secured the body of their hero against violation by his enemies. The little river Busentinus, in Northern Bruttium, was turned from its course with great labor, and in the bed of the stream was constructed a tomb, in which was placed the body of the king, with his jewels and trophies. The river was then restored to its old channel, and, that the exact spot might never be known, the prisoners who had been forced to do the work were all put to death.

The Barbarians Seize the Western Provinces.—We must now turn our eyes from Rome and Italy to observe the movement of events in the provinces. In his efforts to defend Italy, Stilicho had withdrawn the last legion from Britain, and had drained the camps and fortresses of Gaul. The Wall of Antoninus was left unmanned; the passages of the Rhine were left unguarded;

and the agitated multitudes of barbarians beyond these defences were free to pour their innumerable hosts into all the fair provinces of the empire. Hordes of Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians overspread all the plains and valleys of Gaul. The number of these intruders was swollen by the Goths, who, with Italy pillaged, recrossed the Alps, and, turning westward, established their camps in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain, and set up in those regions what is known as the Kingdom of the Visigoths. The Vandals pushed on into the south of the peninsula, and there occupied a large tract of country, which, in its present name of Andalusia, preserves the memory of its barbarian settlers. From these regions they crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, overran the Roman provinces of Northern Africa, captured Carthage (A.D. 439), and made that city the seat of the dread Empire of the Vandals.

In Britain, upon the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the Picts and Scots, breaking over the Wall of Antoninus, descended upon and pillaged the cities of the south, which had grown rich through trade carried on under the protection of the Roman governors. The half-Romanized and effeminate provincials—no match for their hardy kinsmen who had never bowed their necks to the yoke of Rome—were driven to despair by the ravages of their relentless enemies, and, in their helplessness, invited to their aid the Angles and Saxons from the shores of the Baltic. These peoples came in their rude skiffs, drove back the invaders, and, being pleased with the soil and climate of the island, took possession of the country for themselves, and became the ancestors of the English people.

Invasion of the Huns: Battle of Chalons.—The barbarians that were thus overrunning and parcelling out the inheritance of the dying empire were now, in turn, pressed upon and terrified by a foe more hideous and dreadful in their eyes than were they in the sight of the peoples among whom they had thrust themselves.

We have already caught a glimpse of the non-Aryan Huns, the monstrous Scythians, as they drove the panic-stricken Goths across the Danube. Since that time these Scythic warriors had built up an immense barbarian empire stretching from the Volga in the east to the Rhine in the west, and from the Baltic on the north to the Euxine on the south. Their kingdom embraced Turanian Huns, Tartars, and Finns, and Aryan Slaves, Goths, and Teutons. They were far more ruthless and implacable than the Gothic and Germanic barbarians whose footsteps they were following. Their path was marked everywhere by flaming signals. Their king disdained to live in a palace. At this time the leader of the nation was Attila, who declared himself to be a Descendant of the Great Nimrod, by the Grace of God King of the Huns, the Goths, the Danes, and the Medes, the Dread of the World. The affrighted inhabitants of Europe called him in terror the "Scourge of God." It was declared that the grass never grew again where once the hoof of Attila's horse had trod.

Attila defeated the armies of the Eastern emperor, and exacted tribute from the court of Constantinople. The celerity of his movements was marvellous. Almost at the same moment he was attacking the tribes in Northern Europe, chastising the Tartars in Central Asia, and ravaging the fields of Thrace and Illyricum. Finally he turned westward, and, at the head of a host numbering, it is asserted, 700,000 warriors, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, purposing first to ravage that province, and then to traverse Italy with fire and sword, in order to destroy the last vestige of the Roman power.

The Romans and their Gothic conquerors laid aside their animosities, and made common cause against the common enemy. The Visigoths were rallied by their king, Theodoric; the Italians, the Franks, the Burgundians flocked to the standard of the Roman general Ætius. Attila drew up his mighty hosts upon the plain of Châlons, in the north of France, and there awaited the onset of the Romans and their allies. The con-

flict was long and terrible. Theodoric was slain ; but at last fortune turned against the barbarians. The loss of the Huns is variously estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 warriors. Attila succeeded in escaping from the field, and retreated with his shattered hosts across the Rhine (A.D. 451).

This great victory is placed among the significant events of history ; for it decided that the Christian Germanic races, and not the pagan Scythic Huns, should inherit the dominions of the expiring Roman Empire, and control the destinies of Europe.

The Death of Attila.—The year after his defeat at Châlons, Attila again crossed the Rhine with a large army, and, passing the Alps, burned or plundered all the important cities of Northern Italy. The Veneti fled for safety to the morasses at the head of the Adriatic (A.D. 452). Upon the islets where they built their rude dwellings, there grew up in time the city of Venice, the “eldest daughter of the Roman Empire,” the “Carthage of the Middle Ages.”

The conqueror threatened Rome ; but Leo the Great, bishop of the capital, went with an embassy to the camp of Attila, and pleaded for the city. He recalled to the mind of Attila the fact that death had overtaken the impious Alaric soon after he had given the Imperial City to be sacked, and warned him not to call down upon himself the like judgment of Heaven. To these admonitions of the Christian bishop was added the persuasion of a golden bribe from the Emperor Valentinian ; and Attila was induced to spare Southern Italy, and to lead his warriors back beyond the Alps. Shortly after he had crossed the Danube, he died suddenly in his camp. His vast kingdom fell speedily to pieces after his death ; and the Huns gradually withdrew from Europe into the wilds of their native Scythia, or were absorbed by the nations they had conquered.*

* There is much uncertainty respecting the part which the warriors of

Sack of Rome by the Vandals (A.D. 455).—Rome had been saved a visitation from the spoiler of the North, but a new destruction was about to burst upon it by way of the sea from the South. Africa sends out another enemy whose greed for plunder proves more fatal to Rome than the eternal hate of Hannibal. The kings of the Vandal Empire in Northern Africa had acquired as perfect a supremacy in the Western Mediterranean as Carthage ever enjoyed in the days of her commercial pride. Vandal corsairs swept the seas and harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and even plundered the maritime towns of the Eastern provinces. In the year 455 a Vandal fleet, led by the dread Genseric, sailed up the Tiber.

These barbarians had been exhorted to come by the Roman empress Eudoxia, to avenge the murder of her husband Valentinian, struck down by a senator named Maximus, who had assumed the purple, and forced the widowed queen to accept the hand stained with the blood of her own husband.

Panic seized the people; for the name of Vandal was pronounced with terror throughout the world. Maximus—the Achan who had brought this judgment upon the city—was stoned to death by an infuriated mob. Again the great Leo, who had once before saved his flock from the fury of an Attila, went forth, and hastened to throw himself before the “semi-Christian Genseric,” and to intercede in the name of Christ for

Attila may have taken in the formation of the later Hungarian state in Europe. That appears to have owed its origin to another invading band of the same people, that entered Europe several centuries later. “It is at least certain,” says Creasy, “that the Magyars of Arpad, who are the immediate ancestors of the bulk of the modern Hungarians, and who conquered the country which bears the name of Hungary in A.D. 889, were of the same stock of mankind as the Huns of Attila, if they did not belong to the same subdivision of that stock. Nor is there any improbability in the tradition that after Attila’s death many of his warriors remained in Hungary, and that their descendants afterwards joined the Huns of Arpad in their career of conquest. It is certain that Attila made Hungary the seat of his empire.”—Creasy’s “Decisive Battles,” p. 157.

the Imperial City. Genseric yielded to the pious bishop the lives of the citizens, but said that the plunder of the capital belonged to his warriors. For fourteen days and nights the city was given over to the ruthless barbarians. The ships of the Vandals, which almost hid with their number the waters of the Tiber, were piled, as had been the wagons of the Goths before them, with the rich and weighty spoils of the capital. Palaces were stripped of their ornaments and furniture, and the walls of the temples denuded of their statues and of the trophies of a hundred Roman victories. From the Capitoline sanctuary were borne off the golden candlestick and other sacred articles that Titus had stolen from the Temple at Jerusalem. Even the roof of the building was stripped of its gilded tiles.

Finally, the greed of the barbarians was sated, and they were ready to withdraw. The Vandal fleet set sail for Carthage,* bearing, besides the plunder of the city, more than 30,000 of the inhabitants as slaves. Conflagration and slaughter had also accompanied the work of pillage. Carthage, through her own barbarian conquerors, was at last avenged upon her hated rival. The mournful presentiment of Cato had fallen true. The cruel fate of Carthage might have been read again in the pillaged and smoking city that the Vandals left behind them.

Fall of the Roman Empire of the West (A.D. 476).—Only the shadow of the Western Empire now remained. All the provinces—Illyricum, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Africa—were in the hands of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Angles, and the Saxons, and various other intruding tribes.

* A storm overtaking the fleet, the vessel that bore the treasures taken from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was lost. Not any others suffered. "The golden candlestick reached the African capital, was recovered a century later, and lodged in Constantinople by Justinian, and by him replaced, from superstitious motives, in Jerusalem. From that time its history is lost."—Merivale.

Italy, as well as Rome herself, had become again and again the spoil of the insatiable barbarians. The story of the twenty-five years following the sack of the capital by Genseric affords only a repetition of the events we have been narrating. During these years several puppet emperors were set up by the different leaders of the invading tribes. A final seditious movement placed upon the shadow-throne a child of six years, son of Orestes, the leading spirit of the new revolution.

By what has been called a freak of fortune, this boy-sovereign bore the name of Romulus Augustus, thus uniting in the name of the last Roman Emperor of the West the names of the founder of Rome and of the establisher of the empire. Not so much on account of his youth as from contempt excited by the imperial farce he was forced to play, this emperor became known as Augustulus—"the little Augustus." He reigned only one year, when Odoacer, the leader of the Heruli—a small but formidable German tribe, all of whom claimed royal descent—having demanded one third of the lands of Italy, to divide among his followers for services rendered the empire, and having been refused, put Orestes to death, and dethroned the child-emperor. His life was spared, and his friends were permitted to take him into retirement at the villa of Lucullus, in Campania.

Odoacer abolished the title of emperor and styled himself King of Italy. The Roman Senate sent an embassy to Constantinople, with the royal vestments and the insignia of the imperial office, to represent to the Emperor Zeno that the West was willing to give up its claims to an emperor of its own, and to request that the German chief, with the title of "Patrician," might rule Italy as his viceroy. This was granted; and Italy now became in effect a province of the Empire of the East (A.D. 476). The Roman Empire in the West had come to an end, after an existence from the founding of Rome of 1229 years.

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM COMMODUS TO AUGUSTULUS.

(A.D. 180-476.)

	A.D.		A.D.
Commodus.....	180-192	{ Diocletian.....	284-305
Pertinax.....	193	{ Maximian.....	286-305
Didius Julianus.....	193	{ Constantius I.....	305-306
Septimius Severus.....	193-211	{ Galerius.....	305-311
{ Caracalla.....	211-217	Constantine the Great.....	306-337
{ Geta.....	211-212	Reigns as sole ruler.....	323-337
Macrinus.....	217-218	Constantine II.....	337-340
Elagabalus.....	218-222	Constans I.....	337-350
Alexander Severus.....	222-238	Constantius II.....	337-361
Maximin.....	238	Reigns as sole ruler.....	350-361
Gordian.....	238-244	Julian the Apostate.....	361-363
Philip.....	244-249	Jovian.....	363-364
Decius.....	249-251	{ Valentinian I.....	364-375
Period of the Thirty Tyrants.	251-268	{ Valens (in the East)....	364-378
Claudius.....	268-270	Gratian.....	375-383
Aurelian.....	270-275	Maximus.....	383-388
Tacitus.....	275-276	Valentinian II.....	388-392
Probus.....	276-282	Eugenius.....	392-394
Carus.....	282-283	Theodosius the Great.....	379-395
{ Carinus.....	283-284	Reigns as sole emperor..	394-395
{ Numerian.....	283-284		

FINAL PARTITION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 395.

EMPERORS OF THE EASTERN
EMPIRE.

(From A.D. 395 to Fall of Rome.)

	A.D.
Arcadius.....	395-408
Theodosius II.....	408-450
Marcian.....	450-457
Leo I.....	457-474
Zeno.....	474-491

EMPERORS OF THE WESTERN
EMPIRE.

A.D.

Honorius.....	395-423
Valentinian III.....	425-455
Maximus.....	455
Avitus.....	455-456
Count Ricimer creates and deposes emperors.....	456-472
Romulus Augustulus.....	475-476

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.

Introductory.—We propose in the present chapter to say something further respecting the great architectural works of the ancient Romans, any extended description of which before this time would have broken the continuity of our narrative. An examination of these as they stood before time and violence laid defacing hands upon them, and as they are now after the decay and spoliation of many centuries, will tend to render more real, and to impress more deeply upon our minds, the story we have been following. In connection with the circus and amphitheatre, we shall introduce a few paragraphs upon the public games and shows of the Romans.

Greek Origin of Roman Architecture.—The architecture of the Romans was in the main an imitation of Greek models. All of the three orders which were originated, or rather perfected, by the Greeks—the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian—were employed by the Roman artists. The Doric and the Ionic both suffered deterioration in the hands of the Italian builders. The harmonious proportions and the graceful sweep of lines upon which the Grecian artists depended were neglected, while the same effects were sought to be secured by massiveness of structure and profuseness of ornamentation. But the Romans were not mere borrowers or servile imitators. In their structures was introduced a principle of which the Greek architects seldom made use, but which the Roman builders employed so constantly and so prominently as to render it the characterizing feature of Roman architecture.

We refer, of course, to the arch, which was known to both the Egyptians and the Chaldæans, as well as to the Greeks, long before the foundations of Rome were laid, but the possibilities of which it was reserved for the practical Romans to discover and utilize. By means of it they spanned the broadest streams with bridges that have resisted all the assaults of time and flood until the present day, carried stupendous aqueducts across the deepest valleys, and vaulted the roofs of the largest buildings.

In the very brief examination that we shall make of Roman architecture, we shall notice, first, the sacred edifices—the temples; second, those structures designed for the exhibition of games and shows—the circus, the theatre, and the amphitheatre; third, works of utility—the military roads, aqueducts, and baths; fourth, the villas of the wealthy; and, lastly, memorial architecture—triumphal arches and columns, and monuments for the dead.

Roman Temples.—The most celebrated of the sacred edifices of the Romans was the Capitoline Temple, or Capitol, as often called, which crowned the summit of one of the Seven Hills—the Capitoline—so that it overlooked at once the Tiber and the Forum. The building, with its courts and porticos, covered an area of eight acres, a space much greater than the original level summit of the hill, which was therefore enlarged by immense substructions and fillings, as in the case of the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem. The structure is said to have been commenced by Tarquinius Priscus, 615 B.C.; but it was not completed until the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, about one hundred years later. The temple proper, which was about two hundred feet square, contained three chambers, the central and largest being sacred to Jupiter, while those on either side were consecrated one to Juno and the other to Minerva. The sanctuary was reached from the Forum by a magnificent flight of one hundred marble steps. At the close

of the Punic wars the entire roof of the central portion of the building was covered with gilded tiles at an almost fabulous expense — \$20,000,000 according to some authorities. The brazen doors of the temple were also adorned with solid plates of gold. The interior decorations were of marble and silver. The walls were crowded with the rich trophies hung up by successful commanders as memorials of their own prowess and the favor of the gods.

The fortunes of the famous sanctuary were even more varied than those of the Delphic shrine. Three times it was burned and as often rebuilt. The original structure stood four hundred and thirteen years, when it was accidentally destroyed by fire during the civil war of Marius and Sulla (84 B.C.). It was restored by Sulla, but was again burned during the conflict between the soldiers of Vespasian and Vitellius (A.D. 69). Vespasian rebuilt it, but again fire consumed it during the reign of Titus. Domitian restored it for the third and last time with great magnificence. We have already learned the fate of the treasures of the sanctuary at the hands of the barbarian Goths and Vandals, when the Roman arms had become too weak to defend what they had wrested from a hundred nations.

The Capitoline was to Rome what the Acropolis was to Athens. It became the home of art and the centre of the religious life and worship of the nation. Besides the Capitol many other richly decorated temples were erected upon the levelled summit of the hill. There were sanctuaries dedicated to Venus, Fortune, Mars, Juno Moneta, and the adopted Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis. But although this Roman Acropolis was primarily set apart for the service of the gods, it was not given up entirely to sacred uses. It was the repository of the treasures of the state, as well as of its religious relics. Thus adjoining the Temple of Juno Moneta was the Roman mint, from which circumstance stamped coin came to be called *moneta*; hence our word money. In the Capitol

was an important library, chambers for the records of the state, vaults for the Sibylline Books, lecture-rooms, and offices for the use of the city magistrates. And hither ascended, by the *clivus capitolinus*, the fortunate conqueror, to return thanks to Jupiter for victory, and to enrich his shrine with the spoils of war.

The fury of barbarian conquerors, and the vandalism of the Middle Ages—during which period the material of the ancient temples was appropriated for building purposes—succeeded in obliterating almost the last trace of building upon the hill. The site of the Temple of Jupiter is now occupied by the Capitol of modern Rome.

After the Capitoline Temple, the Pantheon is the next sacred edifice of the Romans most worthy of our attention, both because of its peculiar architecture and of the wonderful state of preservation in which it has reached our own time. It is a vast circular structure 188 feet in diameter, with walls 19 feet thick—made thus thick and strong in order to bear the immense stone dome which springs its tremendous arch over the building. This is one of the boldest pieces of masonry executed by the master builders of the world. At the top of the dome is an opening about thirty feet in diameter, designed to light the building, so that every ray that enters the sanctuary falls directly from the heavens. The temple is fronted by a splendid portico, forming a thick grove of columns, through which entrance is given to the shrine. The doors were of bronze, and still remain in place.

The Pantheon was built about 25 B.C. by the consul M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus. It was consecrated to Jupiter the Avenger. The name Pantheon* was given the building, not because it contained statues of all the gods, for there were niches for only six besides that of Jupiter, but from the great dome being conceived to represent the heavens, the divine dwelling-place (Guhl). The statues of the ancient dei-

* From two Greek words, *pan*, all, and *theon*, divine.

ties have disappeared from the niches of the shrine, and they are now filled with the figures of Christian saints; and the sanctuary has been renamed, being now known as the Church of All the Saints.

There were a large number of circular vaulted temples in Rome. This was a style of architecture peculiarly Italian. There were no such structures to be found among the Greeks, if we except a few small and unimportant buildings, mostly of a subterranean character.

It was not the capital alone that was adorned with sacred edifices. The chief cities of Italy and of all the provinces were filled with temples rivalling in richness and magnificence those at the centre of the empire. Many of these were constructed by the magistrates of Rome, or by the emperors, in order to gain the good-will of the citizens of the places thus patronized. Nothing more excites our surprise, or tends more to impress the imagination with a sense of the opulence and wide-spread power of the Roman state during its best days, than the fact that a city so remote from Italy as Palmyra, situated in the midst of a great desert, exposed to the attacks of the most formidable enemies, should have been adorned with architectural structures second only to those of the capital itself. The Palmyrian Temple of the Sun was, next after the Capitoline sanctuary, the most magnificent shrine within the limits of the empire. Kept from decay by the dry preservative air of the desert, and secured from the spoliation of modern builders by its isolation, this desert fane is to-day the most perfectly preserved of the great sacred edifices of the ancient Romans.

The Circus.—The circuses of the Romans were what we should call race-courses. There were several at Rome, the most celebrated being the Circus Maximus, which was located in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine. It was first laid out by Tarquinius Priscus. During succeeding cen-

turies it was enlarged as the population of the capital increased, until finally, at the time of Constantine, which emperor made the last extension, it was capable of holding probably two or three hundred thousand spectators.* It was oblong in shape, being about 1800 feet long and 600 feet wide. From the course, or track, the seats rose in tiers the same as in a theatre. From the uppermost row of seats rose high buildings with several stories of balconies like the boxes overhanging the modern stage. The sloping sides of the valley were taken advantage of in the formation of the seats. The only remaining trace of this stupendous structure is the terraced appearance of the low encircling hills.

The Games of the Circus.—The circensian games had a religious origin. The belief that the gods delighted in the exhibition of feats of skill, strength, or endurance; that their anger might be appeased by such spectacles; or that they might be persuaded by the promise of games to lend aid to mortals in great emergencies, was what led to the institution of the shows of the circus. At the opening of the year it was customary for the Roman magistrate, in behalf of the people, to promise to the gods games and festivals, provided good crops, protection from pestilence, and victory were granted the Romans during the year. So, too, a general in great straits in the field might, in the name of the state, vow plays to the gods, and the people were sacredly bound by his act to fulfil the promise. Plays given in fulfilment of vows thus made were called votive games. To these were added many others to commemorate important events, or to signalize the completion of some important work. Towards the close of the republic they lost much of their religious character, and at last became degraded into mere brutal shows given by ambitious leaders for the purpose of winning popularity.

* Authorities differ, ranging from 150,000 to 380,000. Pliny says 250,000.

The games consisted at first of chariot-racing, wrestling, foot-racing, and various athletic sports. Then dramatic representations were added, and finally the gladiatorial combats ; but the circus was ill adapted to these, and after a time theatres were constructed for the exhibitions of the drama, and the amphitheatre for the combats of men and animals. After the suppression of the gladiatorial shows by the Christian emperors, the circensian games were the principal entertainments left to the people. They retained their popularity down to the overthrow of the empire.

Theatres.—The Romans borrowed the plan of their theatres from the Greeks. The form was that of a semicircle with rising tiers of seats. The Greeks, in the construction of their theatres, usually took advantage of some hill-side. The first theatre was simply the gentle slope of a curving valley, where the rising ground formed the seats for the spectators, and the level space at the bottom of the hill the stage for the players. Those who desired better seats than the turf afforded were obliged to carry mats or chairs with them. Soon permanent seats were constructed, the native rock being not unfrequently hewn into steps to serve this purpose. This was the case at the Greek city of Syracuse, where the rock-theatre, still very perfectly preserved, forms almost the only relic of that ill-fated city. Sometimes only the lower portion of the structure was cut in the hill, while the upper part was constructed of wood.

When the Romans, who usually seemed to scorn the idea of saving labor, or of asking nature to lend aid in any work, felt the need of some structure better adapted than the circus to dramatic representations, and set themselves to theatre-building, they erected the entire structure upon level ground, raising a great supporting wall or framework in place of the hill with its favoring slopes. All of the theatres built at Rome previous to the year 55 B.C. were of wood. In that year Pompey the Great returned from his campaigns in the East, where he had

seen the Greek theatre at Mitylene, and immediately set to work to erect, in imitation of it, a stone theatre at Rome that should seat 40,000 spectators. (This structure and two others, one built by Augustus and the other by Cornelius Balbus, were the only theatres at the capital.) Around the top of the *cavea* ran a covered portico, beneath which the audience might retreat in case of storm.

Of the theatrical entertainments themselves we shall speak in the following chapter, in connection with the literature of the Romans. We need here simply observe that the plays with which the Romans were entertained were, in the main, translations or very close imitations of Greek dramas. Comedy was more popular than tragedy: the people saw too much real tragedy in the exhibitions of the amphitheatre to care much for the make-believe tragedies of the stage.

The Amphitheatre.—The first amphitheatre seems to have been the outgrowth of the rivalry between Pompey and Cæsar. The liberality of the former in the erection of his stone theatre had so won for him the affections of the people that the latter saw he must do something to surpass his rival, or see himself entirely distanced in the race for popular favor. Cæsar was at this time away in Gaul, whence he sent immense sums of money, gained by his successful wars, to his friend Curio, then tribune at Rome, who was enjoined to erect, with the means thus put in his hands, a structure that should cast Pompey's into the shade. Pliny tells us that Curio built two wooden theatres side by side, in which two distinct audiences might be entertained at the same time. With things thus arranged, and with the people in good-humor from the farcical representations that had been given, all was ready for the master-stroke that was to win the applause of the fickle multitude. At a given signal, one of the theatres, which had been constructed so as to admit of such a movement, was swung around and brought face to face with the other, in such a way as to form a vast am-

phitheatre, where, from a central space called the arena and designed for the exhibitions, the seats rose in receding tiers on every side.

The first stone amphitheatre was erected during the reign of Augustus. But the one that pushed all other edifices of this kind far into the background, and in some respects surpassed any other monument ever reared by man, was the structure commenced by Flavius Vespasian, and often called, after him, the Flavian Amphitheatre, but better known as the Colosseum, either, as we have said elsewhere, on account of its enormous size, or from a colossus of Nero which stood in front of it. The edifice was 574 feet in its greatest diameter, and was capable of seating 87,000 spectators. The encircling wall rose in four stories to the height of 156 feet. The several stories exhibited exteriorly the different orders of Grecian architecture: the lower story was Doric, the second Ionic, and the third and fourth were Corinthian. Within, the seats rose from the arena in receding tiers to the magnificent portico that crowned the upper circle. The lower front seats were reserved for the imperial family, the senators, and the magistrates of Rome. The first twenty seats back of these were for the knights, the next sixteen for the citizens, and the uppermost for the women. At either end of the longer diameter the unprivileged masses found place to stand or sit. Beneath the arena and seats were large chambers designed as dens for the wild animals needed in the shows. Sockets in the upper stone-work held pillars to which were fastened the ropes by means of which an immense awning was stretched over the heads of the spectators to keep out the sun and rain. Fountain jets filled the air with perfumed spray; pieces of statuary, placed at advantageous points, relieved the monotony of the endless circle of seats; and bright-colored silken decorations lent a festive appearance to the vast auditorium.

The enormous proportions of the Colosseum have enabled it to resist all the agencies of destruction which have been at

work upon it through so many centuries. The crowning colonnade was destroyed by fire; the immense walls were quarried by the builders of Rome for a thousand years, and from them was taken material for the building of a multitude of castles, towers, and palaces, erected in the capital during the Middle Ages; and for seventeen hundred years the tooth of time has been busy upon every part of the gigantic structure. Yet, notwithstanding all these concurring agencies of ruin, the Colosseum still stands grand and impressive as at first, even more impressive because of these marks that it bears of violence and of time. It rises before us as "the embodiment of the power and splendor of the empire." The Venerable Bede of England, writing in the early part of the eighth century, tells us of the impression produced by the stupendous edifice upon the simple pilgrims from the then rude North. He quotes the following saying, current among these visitors: "As long as the Colosseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Colosseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."*

Many of the most important cities of Italy and of the provinces were provided with amphitheatres, similar in all essential respects to the Colosseum at the capital, only much inferior in size, save the one at Capua, which was nearly as large as the Flavian structure.

The Shows of the Amphitheatre.—Before the erection of amphitheatral buildings, the shows that came to be exhibited in them were performed, as we have already mentioned, in the circus or forum, which, however, were ill adapted to such presentations. The shows that were transferred from these places to the amphitheatre were animal-baitings and gladiatorial combats.

The beasts required for the baitings were secured in different parts of the world, and transported to Rome and the other

* Milman's Gibbon's "Rome," vol. vi. p. 533.

cities of the empire at an enormous expense. The wildernesses of Northern Europe furnished bears and wolves; Africa contributed lions, crocodiles, and leopards; Asia elephants and tigers. These creatures were pitted against one another in every conceivable way. Often a promiscuous multitude would be turned loose in the arena at once. But even the terrific scene that then ensued, as the frightened and enraged beasts flew at one another in wild and aimless encounter, became at last too tame to stir the blood of the Roman populace. Hence a new species of show was introduced, and grew rapidly into favor with the spectators of the amphitheatre. This was the gladiatorial combat.

The Gladiatorial Combats.—Gladiatorial games seem to have had their origin in Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome. It was a custom among the early Etruscans to slay prisoners over the warrior's grave, it being thought that the spirit of the dead delighted in the blood of such victims. In time the condemned prisoners were allowed to fight and kill one another, this being deemed more humane than their cold-blooded slaughter. Thus it happened that sentiments of humanity gave rise to an institution which, afterwards perverted, became the most inhuman of any that ever existed among a civilized people.

The first gladiatorial spectacle at Rome was presented by Marcus and Decimus Brutus, as the closing part of the funeral ceremonies of their father, in the year 264 B.C. This exhibition was arranged in one of the forums, as there were at that time no amphitheatres in existence. From this time the public taste for this species of entertainment grew rapidly, and by the beginning of the imperial period had mounted into a perfect passion. It was now no longer the manes of the dead, but the spirits of the living, that they were intended to appease. At first the combatants were slaves, captives, or condemned criminals; but at last knights, senators, and even women descended into the arena. Training-schools were established at Rome, Capua,

Ravenna, and other cities. Free citizens often sold themselves to the keepers of these seminaries; and to them flocked desperate men of all classes, and ruined spendthrifts of the noblest patrician houses. Slaves and criminals were encouraged to become proficient in this art by the promise of freedom if they survived the combats beyond a certain number of years.

Sometimes the gladiators fought in pairs; again great companies engaged at once in the deadly fray. They fought in chariots, on horseback, on foot—in all the ways that soldiers were accustomed to fight in actual battle. The contestants were armed with lances, swords, daggers, tridents, and every manner of weapon. Some were provided with nets and lassos, with which they entangled their adversaries, and then slew them.

The life of a wounded gladiator was in the hands of the audience. If in response to his appeal for mercy, which was made by outstretching the forefinger, the spectators reached out their open hands, or waved their handkerchiefs, that indicated that his prayer had been heard; but if they extended clenched fists, that was the signal for the victor to complete his work upon his wounded foe. Sometimes the dying were aroused and forced on to the fight by burning with a hot iron. The dead bodies were dragged from the arena with hooks, like the carcasses of animals, and the pools of blood soaked up with dry sand.

These shows increased to such an extent that they entirely overshadowed the entertainments of the circus and the theatre. Ambitious officials and commanders arranged such spectacles in order to curry favor with the masses; magistrates were expected to give them in connection with the public festivals; the head of aspiring families exhibited them "in order to acquire social position;" wealthy citizens prepared them as an indispensable feature of a fashionable banquet; the children caught the spirit of their elders and imitated them in their plays. The demand for gladiators was met by the training-

schools; the managers of these hired out bands of trained men, that travelled through the country like opera troupes among us, and gave exhibitions in private houses or in the provincial amphitheatres.

The rivalries between ambitious leaders during the later years of the Republic tended greatly to increase the number of gladiatorial shows, as liberality in arranging these spectacles was a sure passport to popular favor. It was reserved for the emperors, however, to exhibit them on a truly imperial scale. Titus, upon the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre, provided games, mostly gladiatorial combats, that lasted one hundred days. Trajan celebrated his victories with shows that continued still longer, in the progress of which 10,000 gladiators fought upon the arena, and more than that number of wild beasts were slain. Claudius eclipsed all his predecessors by the naval battle he exhibited on the Fucine Lake, A.D. 52, in celebration of the completion of some engineering works in that place, in which spectacle 19,000 gladiators were engaged, and fought as in a regular sea-fight.

Suppression of the Gladiatorial Games.—The suppression of the gladiatorial games has been declared to be the most important reform in the moral history of the world.* There is certainly no other moral achievement that may be compared with it unless it be the abolition of slavery throughout the civilized world, which grand reform the present century has seen accomplished. And it is to Christianity that the credit of the suppression of the inhuman exhibitions of the amphitheatre is entirely, or almost entirely, due. The pagan philosophers usually regarded them with indifference, often with favor. Thus Pliny commends a friend for giving a gladiatorial entertainment at the funeral of his wife. And when the pagan moralists do condemn the spectacles, it is rather for other rea-

* Lecky's "History of European Morals," vol. ii. p. 34.

sons than that they regarded them as inhuman and absolutely contrary to the rules of ethics. They were defended on the ground that they fostered a martial spirit among the people and inured the soldier to the sights of the battle-field. Hence gladiatorial games were actually exhibited to the legions before they set out on their campaigns. Indeed, all classes appear to have viewed the matter in much the same light, and with exactly the same absence of moral disapprobation, as we ourselves regard the slaughter of animals for food. Augustus, it is true, ordered that not more than one hundred and twenty gladiators should fight together, and prohibited magistrates from giving more than a stated number of exhibitions during the year ; but these measures aimed at checking extravagance rather than inculcating humanity. But the Christian fathers denounced the combats as absolutely immoral, sinful, and sacrilegious. They labored in every possible way to create a public opinion against them. The members of their own body who attended the spectacles were excommunicated. At last, in A.D. 325, the first imperial edict against them was issued by Constantine. This decree appears to have been very little regarded ; nevertheless, from this time forward the exhibitions were under something of a ban, until the edict of Honorius (A.D. 404) effectually suppressed the inhuman spectacles.* Even before this decree they had come to an end in the East, where they never, especially in Greece, had been received with such favor as in the West. The inane bull-fight exhibited at the present day in Spanish countries is the last remaining relic of the sanguinary human combats of the Roman amphitheatre.

Military Roads.—Foremost among the works of utility executed by the Romans, and the most expressive of the spirit of the people, were their military roads. Radiating from the capital, they grew with the growing empire, until all the countries

* See above, p. 399.

about the Mediterranean and beyond the Alps were united to Rome and to one another by a perfect network of highways of such admirable construction that even now, in their ruined state, they excite the wonder of modern engineers.

The most noted of all the Roman roads was the Via Appia, called by the ancients themselves the "Queen of Roads," which ran from Rome to Capua. It was built by Appius Claudius (312 B.C.), for whom it was named. Afterwards it was continued in a southeasterly direction, and carried across the peninsula to Brundisium, an important sea-port on the coast of Apulia, whence expeditions were embarked for operations in the East. The Flaminian Way ran from the capital to Ariminum on the Adriatic, and thence was extended, under another name, northward into the Valley of the Po. Several other roads, reaching out from Rome in different directions, completed the communication of the capital with the various cities and states of the peninsula. As the limits of the Roman authority extended, new roads were built in the conquered provinces—in Sicily, in Northern Africa, in Spain, over the Alps, along the Rhine and the Danube, throughout Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the East.

These military roads, with characteristic Roman energy and disregard of obstacles, were carried forward, as nearly as possible, in straight lines and on a level, mountains being pierced with tunnels, and valleys crossed by massive viaducts. Near Naples may be seen one of these old tunnels still in use, called the Grotto of the Posilippo, which is over half a mile in length. It led the old Appian Way through a hill that at this point crossed its course. The usual width of the roadway was about thirteen feet; the bed was formed of broken stone and cement, upon which was sometimes laid, as in the case of the Via Appia, a regular pavement formed of large blocks of the hardest stone. Foot-paths often ran along the sides of the main roadway; mile-posts told the distance from the capital; and upon the best-appointed roads were found seats disposed at proper

intervals for the convenience of travellers. In the Forum at Rome was a gilded post, the ideal centre of the empire, and so of course of the world, from which distances on all the radiating roads were measured.

Aqueducts.—To supply a great city with abundant and wholesome water is a matter of no less difficulty than importance. All the great capitals of the world, ancient and modern, have secured this boon only by the most lavish expenditure of labor and money. The kings of Babylon expended immense labor in the distribution of water through the gardens and residences of their capital. Solomon's greatest work after the Temple was the cutting of reservoirs (still existing as Solomon's Pools) for the collecting of water, and the construction of conduits to lead the same, from a distance of several miles, within the walls of Jerusalem. But the aqueducts of ancient Rome were the most stupendous constructions of this nature ever executed by the inhabitants of any city. That capital was better supplied with water than any other great city of ancient or modern times. The old writers compare to rivers the streams that the aqueducts poured through its streets.

The water-system of Rome was commenced by Appius Claudius (about 313 B.C.), who secured the building of an aqueduct which led water into the city from the Sabine hills, through a subterranean channel eleven miles in length. From the spoils obtained in the war with Pyrrhus was built the Anio Aqueduct, so named because it brought water from the Anio River. A second aqueduct running from the same stream, and called the Anio Nova, to distinguish it from the older conduit, was sixty-two Roman miles in length. It ran beneath the ground until within about six miles of the city, when it was taken up on arches and thus carried over the low levels into the capital. In places this aqueduct was held up more than a hundred feet above the plain. During the republic four aqueducts were completed; under the emperors the number was increased to nineteen. Of all these only four are now in use.

The Romans carried their aqueducts across depressions and valleys on high arches of masonry, not because they were ignorant of the principle that water seeks a level, but for the reason that they found this method of construction more economical in the long-run than the use of pipes. In some instances the principle was put in practice, and pipes were laid down one side of a valley and up the opposite slope. But their liability to accident, as we have intimated, led to the adoption of the other method. The lofty arches of the ruined aqueducts that run in long broken lines over the plains beyond the walls of Rome are described by all visitors to the old capital as the most striking feature of the desolate Campagna.

Thermæ, or Baths.—The greatest demand upon the streams of waters poured into Rome by the aqueducts was made by the Thermæ, or baths.* Among the ancient Romans, bathing, regarded at first simply as a troublesome necessity, became in time a luxurious art. During the Republic, bathing-houses were erected in considerable numbers, the use of which could be purchased by a small entrance-fee equivalent to about one cent of our money. Towards the end of the Republic, when bathing had already come to be regarded as a luxury, ambitious politicians, anxious to gain the favor of the masses, would secure a free day for them at the baths. But it was during the imperial period that those magnificent structures, to which the name of Thermæ properly attaches, were erected. Nero, Titus, Trajan, Commodus, Caracalla, Decius, Constantine, and Diocletian all erected splendid thermæ, which, as they were intended to exhibit the liberality of their builders, were thrown open to the public free of charge. These edifices were very

* Vast quantities of water were also absorbed by the fountains, of which Rome is said to have had a larger number than any other city of the world in any age. M. Agrippa, the builder of the Pantheon, is credited with having set up 105, and his example found many imitators.

different affairs from the bathing-houses of the republican era. Those raised by the emperors were among the most elaborate and expensive of the imperial works. They contained chambers for cold, tepid, hot, sudatory, and swimming baths ; dressing-rooms and gymnasia ; museums and libraries ; covered colonnades for loitering and conversation ; extensive grounds filled with statues and traversed by pleasant walks ; and every other adjunct that could add to the sense of luxury and relaxation. The pavements were frequently set with the richest mosaics. The Thermæ of Diocletian contained over three thousand of these stone pictures. Caracalla's Baths had over sixteen hundred marble seats ; granite pillars from Egypt decorated the colonnades ; green marble panellings, cut in Numidia, lined many of the chambers ; the fixtures of the baths were plated, and in some of the rooms were of solid silver. Some conception of the stupendous size of this structure may be gained from the fact that the entrance-hall, or rotunda, of the building was almost as large as the celebrated Pantheon, which it resembled in form.

It was not the inhabitants of the capital alone that had converted the business of bathing into a luxury and an art. There was no town of any considerable size anywhere within the limits of the empire that was not provided with its thermæ. And wherever springs of medicinal qualities broke from the ground there arose magnificent baths, and such spots became the favorite watering-places of the Romans. Thus Baden-Baden was a noted and luxurious resort of the wealthy Romans centuries before it became the great summer haunt of the Germans. Baïæ, near Naples, on account of its warm sulphur springs and the beauty of its surroundings, became crowded with the pleasure-seekers of the capital. These bathing-towns, as was almost inevitable, acquired unenviable reputations as hotbeds of vice and shameless indulgence.

All the Roman thermæ, after suffering repeated spoliation at the hands of successive robbers, have sunk into great heaps

of rubbish. Many of their beautiful marbles were carried off by different Greek emperors to Constantinople. Charlemagne decorated his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle with columns torn from these imperial structures, which were then falling into dilapidation at Rome. The popes built others into St. Peter's Cathedral. And the masons of Rome, like the brick-hunters of Babylon and Nineveh, for centuries mined amidst the vast heaps of the ruined structures for marble blocks and statues, to be burned into lime for making cement. Modern excavations have recovered from the mounds of rubbish some of the most famous of the sculptures that are to be found in the museums of Europe.

Palaces and Villas.—The residences of the wealthy Romans when built within the city walls were called mansions or palaces, but when located in the country were usually designated as villas. The Palatine was the aristocratic quarter of Rome, being occupied by the homes of the wealthy class. After the Great Fire, Nero erected here his Golden House, whose various buildings, courts, gardens, vineyards, fish-ponds, and other innumerable appendages, spread over much of the burnt district. The central building upon the Palatine, shorn of its extensive grounds and useless adjuncts, became the residence of most of the emperors who held the throne after the death of Nero.

Among the villas frequently mentioned by the old writers are those of Scipio, Metellus, Lucullus, Cicero, Hortensius, Pliny, Horace, Virgil, Hadrian, and Diocletian. But to attempt enumeration would be misleading. Every wealthy Roman possessed his villa, and many affected to keep up several in different parts of Italy. These country residences, while retaining the elegance and all the conveniences of the city palace—baths, museums, and libraries—added to these such adjuncts as were denied a place by the restricted room of the capital—extensive gardens, aviaries, fish-ponds, vineyards, olive-orchards, shaded walks, and well-kept drives.

Perhaps the most noted of Roman villas was that of Hadrian at Tibur, now Tivoli. It was intended to be a miniature representation of the world—both the upper and the lower. There were theatres, baths, and temples of rare workmanship. In one part of the grounds were reproduced the Thessalian Vale of Tempe and other celebrated bits of scenery. Subterranean labyrinths enabled the visitor to make an Ænean descent into Hell, and a journey amidst the scenes of the dolorous region.*

Within the ruined enclosure of the villa of Diocletian—the emperor who gave up imperial cares to raise vegetables at Salona, on the Adriatic—are crowded the buildings of the little modern village of Spalatro.

Triumphal Columns and Arches.—Among all peoples, whatever be their place in the scale of civilization, we find an instinct or sentiment which prompts them to endeavor to perpetuate the memory of important events in their history by means of commemorative monuments. When Jacob, upon the spot where he had dreamed, set up a stone for a pillar and poured oil upon the top of it, he simply obeyed that universal impulse which has given to the world the grand lettered obelisks of the Pharaohs, destined, seemingly, to stand so long as the world shall endure, and the imposing sculptured columns of the Romans, to some of which seems to have been granted the immortality of the Egyptian monuments.

The first historic column raised by the Romans was erected in the year 261 B.C., to commemorate their first naval victory, gained by Duillius over the Carthaginian fleet. It was decorated with the brazen prows of the broken and captured ships of the enemy. Trajan's Column, built to commemorate the Dacian victories of that emperor, is a remarkable work. It is still standing in an almost perfect state of preservation. It is over one hundred feet in height, and is pictured from base to sum-

* Guhl and Köner's "Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 372.

mit with representations of battles and various scenes illustrative of Trajan's Dacian campaigns.

The triumphal arches were modelled after the city gates, being constructed with single and with triple archways. Two of the most noted monuments of this character, and the most interesting because of their historic connections, are the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Constantine, both of which are still standing. Upon the former are represented the articles brought from Jerusalem by Titus as the spoils of the war against the Jews. Among other figures may be seen the seven-branched candlestick taken from the Hebrew Temple. An inscription declares that the arch was erected "to the memory of Titus by the Senate and the Roman people." The Arch of Constantine was intended to commemorate the victory of that emperor over Maxentius, which event established Christianity as the imperial and favored religion of the empire.

The Roman Triumph.—The courage of the Roman soldier was fostered, and his daring and intrepidity were incited, by means of various rewards conferred for acts of special valor. Thus the soldier who first scaled the walls of the enemy's cities was awarded the golden *corona muralis*; he who first boarded an enemy's vessel was honored with the *corona navalis*; while the commander who, by some deed of unusual daring, had rescued his army from imminent peril, or turned seeming defeat into victory, was crowned—provided there were no dissenting voice—with the garland of grass, the most honorable crown that could be placed upon the head of the warrior. Gold chains intended to be worn about the neck, and medals with various decorations for the breast, were still further means of rewarding distinguished merit.

But surpassing all other marks of honor was the military triumph. During the later years of the Republic this signal honor was accorded only to the successful general who had killed at least 5000 enemies in a single battle. (In the imperial period

the emperors arranged their own triumphs, sometimes without much regard to the results of their campaigns.) The expenses of the ceremonies were borne by the state. All the streets and public buildings of Rome were decorated with great splendor for the occasion. At one of the gates of the city, called the "Gate of Triumph," the fortunate commander was met by the magistrates of the capital and bodies of the citizens, who led the procession that was now formed. Following this escort were the trains of wagons loaded with the heavier spoils of war, while slaves carried in their hands the lighter trophies—vessels of gold and silver, statues, paintings, and every variety of art treasures; still others bore banners with boastful legends, and with representations of battles, sieges, and captured cities and fortresses. Next came the captive nobles, princes, and kings, often led with golden chains. Following these was the triumphal car bearing the conqueror, while the victorious legions closed the procession. It was not unusual for the triumph to last several days. The games of the circus, the plays of the theatre, and the shows of the amphitheatre formed a fitting termination to the ceremonies.

Sepulchral Monuments.—The Romans in the earliest times seem to have usually buried their dead; but towards the close of the republican period cremation, or burning, became common. When Christianity took possession of the empire, the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead which it taught caused inhumation, or burying, again to become the prevalent mode.

The favorite burying-place among the Romans was along the highways; the Appian Way was lined with sepulchral monuments for a distance of several miles from the gates of the capital. Many of these are still standing. These memorial structures were as varied in design as are the monuments in our modern cemeteries. Shafts, broken columns, altars, pyramids, and chapels were oft-recurring forms.

Two sepulchral edifices of the imperial era deserve special

notice. One of these was raised by Augustus as a tomb and monument for himself and his successors. It stood close to the banks of the Tiber, and consisted of an enormous circular tower raised upon a massive square substructure. A century later, this sepulchre having become filled, Hadrian constructed a similar monument, which was richer, however, in marbles and sculptures, upon the opposite bank of the Tiber. This structure was called, after the emperor, the Mole or Mausoleum of Hadrian. It is now used as a military fortress under the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. The massive structure, battered by many sieges and assaults and decayed through lapse of time, presents, next after the Colosseum, the most imposing appearance of any of the decayed monuments of the ancient Romans.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LATIN LITERATURE.

Literature among the Romans.—The literary or purely intellectual life of the Romans was in every way far inferior to that of the Greeks. The old conquerors of the world were too practical a race—were too much absorbed in the business of war and government—to find much time to pay devotion to the Muses of Poetry and Art, or to pursue with much earnestness, not to say patience, those philosophical speculations which were so congenial to the Attic intellect. All the national aims and pursuits of this martial race trained their ear to catch more music in the tread of legions than in the sweetest cadences of the poet's verse. Their very amusements tended to the same end as did their more serious employments. As we have said in another place, the stern, real tragedies of the amphitheatre rendered tame the mock tragedies of the stage. The inspiration and encouragement of popular appreciation and applause, which raised the tragic drama to such lofty excellence at Athens, were almost wholly wanting at Rome.

Therefore, in the brief examination which we now propose to make of Latin literature, we must not expect to discover such worth and genius as distinguish the intellectual productions of the Hellenic race ; still we shall find the literary memorials of the Roman people possessing so many eminent qualities and so much merit that we shall acknowledge they are justly assigned a prominent, though not the foremost, place among the literary treasures of the world.

The Period of Literary Activity.—It was only the last two

centuries of the Republic and the first of the Empire—only three centuries in all—that were marked by the literary activity and productiveness of the Latin intellect. The first five centuries of Roman history are almost barren of literary monuments. But in the third century B.C., under the fostering influences of the Republic, literature began to spring up and to flourish, and by the time of the establishment of the Empire had reached its fullest and richest development; then, with the fall of the institutions of the republican era, it quickly commenced to languish, and survived the death of freedom barely a single century. By the beginning of the second century of the Empire, the productive period of Latin literature had closed; and the last four hundred years of the imperial era exhibit the name of scarcely a single writer of vigor and originality.

We here learn how depressing and withering are the influences of a capricious and irresponsible despotism, which forbids all freedom and truthfulness, upon the intellectual and literary life of a people. Literature is a plant that thrives best in the free air of a republic. It is true, indeed, that some of the choicest fruit of the Latin intellect ripened during the first years of the Empire; but this had been long maturing under the influences of the republican period, and should properly be credited to that era. Besides, the evil tendencies of the unlimited monarchy had not yet manifested themselves under Augustus; still, even during the reign of that emperor, Ovid, one of the brightest minds of the period, was exiled, without any reason being assigned for the act, to the barbarous shores of the Euxine. But the conduct of the despot Nero will better illustrate what we have affirmed. Every one will recall how that tyrant was on the point of burning every copy of the "Iliad" and of the "Æneid," because, in the imperial judgment, Homer had no taste, and Virgil was without genius. What shall literature do under such censorship?

There was another cause besides the repressive tenden-

cies of the imperial government that must not be overlooked when we seek the reasons for the quick and early decay of Latin literature. It was an exotic; that is, it was a borrowed literature, being almost wholly a transplantation from Greece. And because it was something introduced from abroad, and was not native to the Italian soil, it was necessarily short-lived. "The imitative productions of Ennius," says Dunlop, "may be likened to those trees which are transplanted when far advanced in growth. Much at first appears to have been gained; but it is certain that he who sets the seedling is more useful than the planter, and that, while the trees removed from their native soil lose their original beauty and luxuriance without increase in magnitude, the seedling swells in its parent earth to immensity of size—fresh, blooming, and verdant in youth, vigorous in maturity, and venerable in old-age."*

It is only those literatures that are the spontaneous outgrowth and expression of a people's life and genius that can long endure. The writers of one nation or race may, and indeed must, borrow from all others; but there must be sufficient vitality in the parent stem to send fresh currents through the graft and make it a part of the stock into which it has been set. The literary spirit among the Romans was never strong, virile enough to thoroughly reanimate and transform that which they appropriated. So, aside from the unfavorable influences of imperialism, Latin literature, because an exotic transplanted into an uncongenial soil, seemed predestined to a short life and an early decay.

Greek Learning and Latin Literature. — Notwithstanding that Latin literature was almost wholly imitative or borrowed, the service it performed in the cause of civilization has been lasting and eminent. It was the medium for the dissemination of the rich literary treasures of Greece throughout the world.

* Dunlop's "History of Roman Literature," vol. i. p. 99.

In order to realize the greatness of its work and influence, we must bear in mind that the spread of the Latin tongue was coextensive with the conquests of Rome. The subjugated nations, with the laws of their conquerors, received also their language. In those countries where the subjected peoples were inferior in civilization to the Romans, the language of the conquerors came into general use. Such was the condition of all the nations in the West. Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Northern Africa became so thoroughly Romanized before the overthrow of the empire that the Latin tongue, much corrupted of course from the classical forms of the capital, came into universal use among all classes. It was somewhat different in the East, where the Hellenic language and culture had been spread. The speech of Rome never succeeded in crowding out the Greek language as it pushed aside and displaced the various rude and barbarous dialects of the tribes of Western Europe. Yet throughout all the Eastern provinces the Roman tongue became the speech of the ruling class, and was understood and very generally employed by men of education and social position.

We see, then, how very extended was the audience addressed by the Roman writers. The works of the Latin poets and historians were read everywhere within the limits of the Roman empire, and that is equivalent to saying that they circulated throughout the civilized world. And wherever Latin literature found its way there were scattered broadcast the seeds of Grecian culture, science, and philosophy. The relation of Rome to Greece was exactly the same as that of Phœnicia to Egypt, as expressed by Lenormant: Greece was the mother of modern civilization; Rome was its missionary.

Periods of Latin Literature.—The periods of Roman literature may be designated as the Legendary Age, the Era of the Drama, the Golden Age, the Silver Age, and the Iron Age.

The Legendary Age embraces the obscure period, partly

regal and partly republican, when Rome was under Etruscan influence ; the Era of the Drama extends from 240 to 78 B.C., the latter date being the year which marks the death of Sulla ; the Golden Age covers the period lying between the death of Sulla and the death of Augustus, A.D. 14 (this epoch is divided into the republican period and the Augustan era) ; the Silver Age extends from the close of the Golden Age to the death of Hadrian, A.D. 138 ; and the Iron Age embraces the remaining centuries of the empire. The names of the periods are sufficiently expressive, without explanation, of the character of the literary productions of the different epochs they severally designate.

In the short review which we shall now proceed to give of the writers of these several periods, we shall speak only of the most noted authors—of those whose names have become interwoven with the threads of general history. We shall not even mention minor names, as they properly belong to the literary student, and do not in any special manner concern the historian. But the great writers of a nation or race belong as much to its history proper as do its great commanders and statesmen.

As we advance in our study we shall not fail to notice that the different writers start forth in groups, as though evoked by the influences of the respective ages in which they appear. Thus we shall see that the Roman dramatists wrote at the time when Hellenic influences, through the conquest of the cities of Magna Græcia, first became predominant at Rome ; that the famous orators of Rome lived under the Republic ; that the greatest poets flourished just at the beginning of the imperial period—under the patronage of an Octavius and a Mæcenas ; and that the most noted of the satirists appeared during, or followed closely upon, eras of extravagance and corruption.

Lays and Ballads of the Legendary Age.—The period em-

braced between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C. may properly be called the Heroic Age of Rome. It corresponds exactly, in its literary products, to the similarly designated period in Grecian history. During this early age, throughout which Etruscan influence was predominant at Rome in all matters of art and culture, there sprang up a great number of hymns, ballads, or lays, of which the merest fragments survived the varying fortunes of the state, and were preserved in the works of the later writers of the Republic. These compositions appear to have been written for recitation upon public occasions, at banquets or funerals, to gratify national or family pride. So feeble was the historic sense among the Romans that these metrical pieces were afterwards mistaken for history, and were gravely narrated by Livy and others as the trustworthy annals of early Rome. "The fabulous birth of Romulus, the rape of the Sabine women, the most poetical combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, the pride of Tarquin, the misfortunes and death of Lucretia, the establishment of liberty by the elder Brutus, the wonderful war with Porsenna, the steadfastness of Scævola, the banishment of Coriolanus, the war which he kindled against his country, the subsequent struggle of his feelings, and the final triumph of his patriotism at the all-powerful intercession of his mother—these and the like circumstances, if they be examined from the proper point of view, cannot fail to be considered as relics and fragments of the ancient heroic traditions and heroic poems of the Romans." *

These stories must be placed along with the Grecian tales of Cadmus and Theseus, of the Argonautic Expedition and the Trojan War. They belong to the literary, and not to the historical, annals of the Roman people. They may be made use of for historical purposes, but only in the same way that the

* Schlegel, in "Lectures on Literature," as quoted by Dunlop in "History of Roman Literature," vol. i. p. 41.

poems of Homer are used. The references and allusions they contain throw light upon the manners, customs, and modes of thinking of the remote times in which they grew up. The few threads of fact that may be drawn from them have been woven into the picture which, in a previous chapter, we attempted to form of the early Roman state.

The Roman Dramatists.—From the earliest times Rome was under the influence of Grecian civilization, as is shown in the matter of the Twelve Tables; but the conquest of the Hellenic cities of Southern Italy as the outcome of the war with Pyrrhus, and the acquisition of Sicily as the result of the First Punic War, brought the Romans into much closer relations than had hitherto existed with the arts and culture of the Greeks. The Romans now began to study with much appreciation, and not without profit, the rich stores of Greek literature opened to them. Among the leading families of Rome, it became the fashion to commit the education of children to Greek poets and scholars. Greek slaves were made tutors and taught the Roman youth the language of Athens, often, it would seem, to the neglect of their native tongue; for we hear the Censor Cato complaining that the boys of his time spoke Greek before they could use their own language. The conqueror bows at the feet of the conquered. The vanquished triumphs over the victor. The intellectual sway of Athens over Rome becomes not less complete and despotic than the political sway of Rome over Athens. The debt incurred by the Romans in all intellectual and literary matters to the Greeks has been declared to be but faintly paralleled by that incurred by the English in theology, philosophy, and music to Germany.* “Their [the Romans’] genius, I believe,” says Dunlop, “would have remained unproductive and cold half a century longer, had it not been kindled by contact with a warm, polished, and

* Cruttwell’s “History of Roman Literature,” p. 36.

animated nation, whose compositions could not be read without enthusiasm or imitated without advantage."*

It was the dramatic productions of the Greeks which were first copied and studied at Rome. Translations for the stage, particularly those of a comic character, were received with great favor, and the theatre became the popular resort of all classes. For nearly two centuries, from 240 B.C. to 78 B.C., dramatic literature was almost the only form of composition cultivated at Rome. During this epoch appeared all the great dramatists ever produced by the Latin-speaking race. Of these we may name, for brief mention, Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Plautus, and Terence. All of these writers were close imitators of Greek authors, and most of their works were simply adaptations or translations of the masterpieces of the Greek dramatists.

Livius Andronicus, probably a Greek prisoner carried to Rome from some city of Magna Græcia, who lived about the middle of the third century B.C., was the father of the Roman drama. He transformed the mimic dances, which had been introduced at Rome by Etruscan actors about a century before his time (in 364 B.C.), into a real dramatic representation, by adding to the performance dialogues to be recited by the actors. The plays, both tragedies and comedies, with which Livius entertained the Romans were, in great part, mere translations from the Greek. He seems to have been popular among the common people, for the house in which he exhibited his plays was upon the Aventine, the quarter of the lower classes, as the Palatine was the abode of the aristocracy. He was the performer of his own pieces, and was so often recalled by his admirers that he overtaxed and lost his voice. After this misfortune befell him, he employed a boy to declaim those parts of the dialogue which required to be rendered in a high tone, while he himself played the flute, recited the less declamatory

* Dunlop's "History of Roman Literature," vol. i. p. 55.

passages, and accompanied the whole with the proper gesticulation. This mode of representation, which Livius had been constrained to adopt through accident, afterwards became the fashion in the Roman theatres ; and the plays were usually presented by two persons, one reciting the words and the other accompanying them with the appropriate gestures. Time has spared to us little more than the titles of Livius's plays, yet, for more than two centuries his works were extremely popular among the Romans, and were studied as text-books by the youth of the capital. Even the poets of the Augustan age were large debtors to the genius and industry of Livius.

Nævius, who wrote about the close of the third century B.C., was the first native-born Roman poet of eminence. His works were translations from various Greek dramatists. He imitated Aristophanes ; and as the latter lashed the corrupt politicians of Athens, so did the former expose to ridicule and contempt different members of the leading patrician families at Rome. He did not escape with impunity ; for he was once in prison, and finally died an exile at Utica or Carthage (about 204 B.C.). Nævius bore part as a soldier in the First Punic War, and he found solace during the years of his exile in writing in epic verse the events of that stirring time.

While Nævius was in exile in Africa, there arose at the capital another aspirant for literary fame. This was Ennius, who called himself the Latin Homer (he was an epic as well as dramatic writer), and whom Cicero always referred to as "our own Ennius." He was honored too by the ancients with the appellation of "the learned Ennius," and by some modern critics he has been compared to Shakespeare in the versatility and originality of his plays ; for though, like Shakespeare, he always borrowed the plots of his plays, taking them from Greek sources, still he was not a mere copyist or imitator. He prudently avoided the course that had brought upon Nævius the wrath of the leaders of the capital, and assiduously courted the favor of the ruling class. He celebrated the patrician families

in heroic verse, and thus gained their patronage. By his teachings and writings he overcame the prejudice which up to his time had existed against the introduction of a foreign literature. He even won over to his side Cato, who during the first part of his life had bitterly opposed the advocates of Hellenic culture. In his later years the stern old Censor became a diligent student of Greek.

The greatest work from the prolific pen of Ennius was the "Annals," an epic poem recounting in graceful and vigorous verse the story of Rome from the times of the kings to his own day. Had Virgil never lived, Ennius must always have been named as the greatest epic poet produced by the Roman race; and the fragments of his "Annals" which still survive would be carefully preserved as the remains of the Roman "Iliad." For two centuries, until the advent of the Augustan poets, the works of Ennius held almost supreme sway over the Roman mind. His verses were constantly rehearsed in the theatres; they were committed to memory by the Roman youth, were quoted by the orator, and borrowed by the poet. Virgil acknowledged Ennius as his master by becoming a diligent student of his works, and by transcribing word for word many of his most beautiful passages. "All epic writers have borrowed freely from their predecessors, and the chain of epic ideas passes back through Milton, Dante, Virgil, Ennius, until it ends at last in Homer" (Lawrence).

Plautus (254-184 B.C.) and Terence (195-161 B.C.) were writers of comedy, who won a fame that has not yet perished. Plautus adapted various Greek plays to the Roman stage, corrupting all the pieces he touched with low wit and drollery, in order to catch the ear of the lower classes that thronged the theatres. His plays reproduced before the inhabitants of the capital the corrupt life of the East, whose debasing influences were at this time beginning to effect a lowering of the tone of society at Rome. Terence wrote more for the cultured classes, and did not stoop to employ those means by which Plautus

secured the applause of his audiences. All of the six comedies which Terence wrote were either translations or adaptations from the Greek. Tradition records the death of the poet at sea while returning from Greece with one hundred and eight new plays, translations from the poet Menander. As Plautus and Terence borrowed from the Greek stage, so have all modern writers of comedy—Italian, French, and English—drawn freely from these their great Roman predecessors.*

Poets of the Later Republican Era.—In the year 146 B.C., Corinth in Greece was destroyed, the treasures of its museums and the rolls of its libraries were carried to Italy, and Roman authority became supreme throughout Greece. The impulse that had been given to the study of Greek models by the conquest of Magna Græcia more than one hundred years before was now intensified and strengthened. But with the introduction of the learning and refinement of the conquered states came also the luxuries and vices of the East. Just at this time, evoked, it would seem, by the shameless extravagances and corruptions that invited rebuke, appeared Lucilius (born

* “‘The earliest writers,’ as has justly been remarked, ‘took possession of the most striking objects for description, and the most probable occurrences for fiction, and left nothing to those that followed but transcriptions of the same events, and new combinations of the same images’ [“*Rasselas*”]. The great author from whom these reflections are quoted had at one time actually projected a work to show how small a quantity of invention there is in the world, and that the same images and incidents, with little variation, have served all the authors who have ever written. Had he prosecuted his intention, he would have found the notion he entertained fully confirmed by the history both of dramatic and romantic fiction; he would have perceived the incapacity of the most active and fertile imagination greatly to diversify the common characters and incidents of life, which, on a superficial view, one might suppose to be susceptible of infinite combinations; he would have found that, while Plautus and Terence servilely copied from the Greek dramatists, even Ariosto scarcely diverged in his comedies from the paths of Plautus.” —Dunlop’s “*History of Roman Literature*,” Preface, p. xix.

148 B.C.), one of the greatest of Roman satirists. The later satirists of the corrupt imperial era were the imitators of the republican poet.

Besides Lucilius, there appeared during the later republican era only two other poets of distinguished merit—Lucretius and Catullus. Both were born early in the last century before Christ. Lucretius studied at Athens, where he became deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Epicurean philosophy, which at that time was in the ascendant at the Attic capital. He left behind him but a single work, entitled *De Rerum Natura*—"On the Nature of Things." This production is somewhat doubtfully asserted to have been written during the lucid intervals which relieved the frequent fits of melancholy or insanity that darkened his life. Lucretius was a thorough evolutionist, and in his great poem we find anticipated many of the conclusions of modern scientists. He pictures Chaos with more than Miltonic power; tells how the worlds were formed by a "fortuitous concourse of atoms;" relates how the generations of life were evolved by the teeming earth; ridicules the superstitions of his countrymen, declaring that the gods do not trouble themselves with earthly affairs, but that storms, lightning, volcanoes, and pestilences are produced by natural causes, and not by the anger of the celestials; and finally reaches the conclusion that death ends all for the human soul. Lucretius is studied more by modern scholars, whose discoveries and theories he so marvellously anticipated, than he was by the Romans of his own time.

Catullus was a poet the beauty and sweetness of whose verses are winning to their study at the present day many ardent admirers. He was born 87 B.C., and died at the age of about forty. He complains of poverty; yet he kept two villas, and found means to indulge in all the expensive and licentious pleasures of the capital. He has been called the Roman Burns, as well on account of the waywardness of his life as from the sweetness of his song. The name of Catullus closes

the short list of the prominent poets of the republican period of the Golden Age.

Poets of the Augustan Age.—Three names have cast an unfading lustre over the period covered by the reign of Augustus—Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. So distinguished have these poets rendered the age in which they lived, that any period in a people's literature signalized by exceptional literary taste and refinement is called, in allusion to the Roman era, an *Augustan Age*. After the terrific commotions that marked the decline and overthrow of the Republic, the long and firm and peaceful reign of Augustus brought welcome relief and rest to the Roman world, wearied with conquests and with contentions over the spoils of war. In narrating the political history of this period, we spoke of the effect of the fall of the Republic upon the development of Latin literature. Many who, if the republican institutions had continued, would have been absorbed in the affairs of the state were led, by the change of government, to seek solace for their disappointed hopes, and employment for their enforced leisure, in the graceful labors of elegant composition. Augustus encouraged this disposition, thinking thus to turn the thoughts of ambitious minds from broodings over the lost cause. By his princely patronage of letters he opened a new and worthy field for the efforts and competitions of the active and the aspiring. His minister Mæcenas, in whose veins flowed royal Etruscan blood, vied with his master in the bestowal upon friends of munificent rewards, and in the extension of a helpful and inspiring patronage to literary merit, and thus did much towards creating the enthusiasm for letters that distinguishes this period.

The vastness of the audience they addressed also reacted upon the writers of this era, and encouraged the greatest painstaking in all their productions. Never before had literary men spoken to so extended an audience—to so much of the world. The boundaries of the Roman Empire now touched everywhere

the limits of civilization. And throughout these ample domains the Roman language had become more or less universally spread. In all the West, as we have seen, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain, in the cities of Northern Africa, it was rapidly supplanting the barbarous dialects of the conquered tribes; while throughout all the provinces and cities of the East it was the speech of the court, of the aristocracy, of learning. The works of Virgil, of Horace, and of Ovid were read and admired in the camps of Gaul and in the capitals of Greece and Syria. Political tranquillity, elegant leisure, imperial patronage, the inspirations of Greek genius, the encouragement of appreciation and wide attention—everything conspired to create an epoch in the world of literature.

And yet we must not look for vigor, strength, originality, nervous energy, in the productions of the writers of this period. These qualities belong to times of great public excitement; to periods of activity, change, revolution; to those eras that signalize the crises and grand struggles of a people's life. They mark creative, Shakespearian epochs in literature. Elegance, grace, refinement, polish, taste, beauty, are the characteristics of the Augustan writers.

Of the three poets whom we have named as the representatives of the poetry of the Augustan period, Virgil doubtless has been the most widely read and admired. He was born 70 B.C. in the little village of Andes, not far from Mantua. In diligent study at Naples, he formed the acquaintance of the master-minds of Grecian literature, and felt the inspirations of the past life of Hellas. Upon his farm at Mantua he learned to love nature and the freedom of a country life. During the disorders of the Second Triumvirate his villa was confiscated, along with the whole Mantuan district, and given to friends of Octavius and Antony. It was afterwards restored to the poet by Augustus. Virgil was laboring upon his greatest work, the "*Æneid*," when death came to him, in the fifty-second year of his age. There is a little memorial building in the suburbs of

Naples, which is at the present time pointed out to travellers as his tomb, and which is declared to have held for several centuries the urn containing the ashes of the poet; but it must be added that the identification is very doubtful.

The three great works of Virgil are his "Eclogues," the "Georgics," and the "Æneid." The "Eclogues" are a series of pastorals, which are very close imitations of the poems of the Sicilian Theocritus. Virgil, however, never borrowed without adorning that which he appropriated by the inimitable touches of his own graceful genius. It is the rare sweetness and melody of the versification, and the Arcadian simplicity of these pieces, that have won for them such a host of admirers.

In the poem of the "Georgics" Virgil extols and dignifies the husbandman and his labor. This work has been pronounced the most finished poem in the entire range of Latin literature. It was written at the suggestion of Mæcenas, who hoped by means of the poet's verse to allure his countrymen back to that love for the art of husbandry which animated the fathers of the early Roman state. Throughout the work Virgil follows very closely the "Works and Days" of Hesiod. The poet treats of all the labors and cares of the farm—gives valuable precepts respecting the keeping of bees and cattle, the sowing and tillage of crops, the dressing of vineyards and orchards, and embellishes the whole with innumerable passages containing beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, or inculcating some philosophical truth, or teaching some moral lesson. Without the "Georgics" we should never have had the "Seasons" of Thomson; for this work of the English poet is in a large measure a direct translation of the verses of Virgil.

The "Æneid" stands next to the "Iliad" of Homer as the greatest epic poem of all literatures. It tells the story of the wanderings of Æneas and his companions up and down the Mediterranean after the downfall of Troy, his settlement in Italy, and the struggles of his descendants with the native inhabitants of the land. Through Æneas, the hero of

the poem, Virgil doubtless intends to represent and compliment the character of his patron, Augustus. In this his greatest work Virgil was a close student of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," and to them he is indebted for very many of his finest metaphors, similes, and descriptive passages, as well as for the general plan and structure of the entire work. To Ennius also is he indebted for many a verse. Homer was Virgil's superior in energy and originality, and in the martial grandeur of his lines; while the latter surpassed his master in the grace, melody, elegance, and harmony of his versification.

Virgil enjoyed for his work that reward which many another worthy poet has been denied—the appreciation of his genius during his own lifetime. The poet, in accordance with a custom that in his day was common, read or recited his poems in the presence of select friends and also in public. On one occasion he repeated the sixth book of his "Æneid" before his imperial patron Augustus and his sister Octavia, who was then mourning the recent death of her son Marcellus, the special favorite and adopted child of the emperor. In the part of the poem rehearsed by Virgil occurs the well-known passage that mourns with the tenderest pathos the too early death of the favorite prince. The closing lines, which alone reveal the name of the subject of the lament, run thus:

"Ah, dear lamented boy, canst thou but break
The stern decrees of fate, then wilt thou be
Our own Marcellus!—Give me lilies, brought
In heaping handfuls. Let me scatter here
Dead purple flowers; these offerings at least
To my descendant's shade I fain would pay,
Though now, alas! an unavailing rite."*

It is said that as Virgil read these verses Octavia was so carried away by her feelings that she fainted, and that the poet was afterwards presented with 10,000 sesterces (about \$400) for each of the twenty-five lines of the passage.

* Virgil's "Æneid," book vi. (Cranch's translation).

Horace, the second great poet of the Augustan Age, was born in the year 65 B.C., only five years later than Virgil, whom he outlived by about a single decade. He studied at Athens, fought with the republicans at Philippi, gained no glory—for he tells us himself how he ran away from the field—but lost his paternal estate at Venusia, which was confiscated, and under the imperial government commenced life anew as a clerk at Rome. Through his friend Virgil he secured the favor of Mæcenas, and gained an introduction to Augustus, and thenceforth led the life of a courtier, dividing his time between the pleasures of the capital and the scenes of his pleasant farm near the village of Tibur. The latter years of his life were shadowed by the deaths of his poet-friends Virgil and Tibullus, and that of his generous patron Mæcenas, whom he survived only a few weeks. Horace's "Odes," "Satires," and "Epistles" have all helped win for him his wide-spread fame; but the first best exhibit his rare power and genius. "His odes, indeed, possess a delicacy of insight, a fineness of touch, and a power of minute finish which very few writers have ever exhibited, and which have rendered them models of construction, valuable to poets of every school, having been no less carefully studied by Wordsworth than by Pope."*

Ovid (42 B.C.—A.D. 18) is the third name in the triumvirate of poets that ruled the Augustan Age. He was the most learned of the three, seeming indeed to be acquainted with the whole round of Greek and Latin literature and speculation. For some fault or misdemeanor, the precise nature of which remains a profound secret to this day, Augustus, his former friend and patron, banished the poet to a small town away on the frontiers of the empire—on the bleak shores of the Euxine. There he spent the last years of his life, bewailing his hard lot in the mournful verses of his "Tristia." His most celebrated work is his "Metamorphoses," the preservation of which we

* Morris's "Classical Literature," p. 300.

owe to the merest good-fortune. When the emperor's decree was brought to him, he was at work revising the manuscript, which, in despair or anger, he flung into the fire. Fortunately some friend had previously made a copy of the work, and thus this literary treasure was saved to the world. The poem opens with a sublime description of Chaos and the creation of the world; then tells of the production of monstrous life by the prolific earth, and of the changing races of men and giants; after which the poet proceeds to describe, through fifteen lengthy books, between two and three hundred metamorphoses, or transformations—such as the change of the companions of Ulysses into swine, of Cadmus into a serpent, and of Arethusa into a fountain—suffered by various persons, gods, heroes, and goddesses, as related in the innumerable fables of the Greek and Roman mythologies.

We have already alluded to Tibullus as the friend of Virgil and Horace. His graceful elegies entitle his name to a prominent place among the poets of the Augustan Age. Propertius, too, was another honored and beloved member of the brilliant coterie of poets that have rendered the reign of Augustus ever memorable in the literary history of the world.

Satire and Satirists.—Satire thrives best in the reeking soil and tainted atmosphere of an age of selfishness, immorality, and vice. Such an age was that which followed the Augustan era at Rome. The throne was held by such imperial monsters as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. The profligacy of fashionable life at the capital and the various watering-places of the empire was open and shameless. The degradation of the court; the corrupt and dissolute life of the upper classes; the imbruted life of the masses, fed by largesses of corn and entertained with the bloody shows of the amphitheatre; the decay of the ancient religion, and the almost universal prevalence of unbelief and absolute atheism; the utter loss of the simplicity and virtue of the early Roman fathers, and the

complete decay and degradation of the intellect—all these gave venom and point to the shafts of those who were goaded by the spectacle into attacking the immoralities and vices which were silently yet rapidly sapping the foundations of both society and state. Hence arose a succession of writers whose mastery of sharp and stinging satire has caused their productions to become the models of all subsequent attempts in the same species of literature. Three names stand out in special prominence—Persius, Juvenal, and Martial,* all of whom lived and wrote during the last half of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D., that is, during what we have called the Silver Age of Latin literature, of which period they are, indeed, the most prominent poetical representatives.† Their writings possess an historical value and interest, as it is through them that we gain such an insight as we could obtain in no other way into the venal and corrupt life of the capital during the early portion of the imperial period.

The indignant protest of Persius, Juvenal, and Martial against the vice and degradation of their time is almost the last utterance of the Latin Muse. From this time forward the decay of the intellectual life of Rome was swift and certain. While the Greek intellect, as we have learned, survived by many centuries the destruction of the political life of Greece, the Latin intellect sank into decrepitude centuries before the final fall of the empire. The political fabric—so admirably consolidated had it become through the growth and labors of many centuries—remained standing, like an aged oak, long after its heart had been eaten away. But it could put forth no

* Martial was an epigrammatist, but almost all his epigrams were pressed into the service of satire.

† There are two other poets belonging to the Silver Age whose names must not be passed unmentioned—Lucan (A.D. 38–65) and Statius (A.D. 61–95). Lucan's only extant work is his "Pharsalia," an epic poem on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Statius wrote two epics, the "Thebaid" and the "Achilleid," the latter being left incomplete.

new shoots. After the death of Juvenal (about A.D. 120) the Roman world produced not a single poet of sufficient genius to merit our attention.

Oratory among the Romans.—"Public oratory," as has been truly said, "is the child of political freedom, and cannot exist without it." We have seen this illustrated in the history of republican Athens. Equally well is the same truth exemplified by the records of the Roman state. All the great orators of Rome arose under the Republic. As during this period almost the entire intellectual force of the nation was directed towards legal and political studies, it was natural, and indeed inevitable, that the most famous orators of the era should appear as statesmen or advocates. Theology, science, and belles-lettres did not then, as they have come to do among ourselves, suggest inviting and popular themes for the best efforts of the public speaker.

Roman oratory was senatorial, popular, or judicial. These different styles of eloquence were represented by the grave and dignified debates of the Senate, the impassioned and often noisy and inelegant harangues of the Forum, and the learned pleadings or ingenious appeals of the courts. Junius Brutus, Appius Claudius Cæcus, the two Scipios, Cato the Censor, Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Licinius, Marcus Antonius, Crassus, Sulpicius, Hortensius, Julius Cæsar, Mark Antony,* and Cicero are some of the most prominent names that have made the rostrum of the Roman Forum and the assembly-chamber of the Roman Senate famous in the records of oratory and eloquence.

Most of these names are already familiar to us through our study of the political history of Rome. We have heard the indignant eloquence of Junius Brutus, which aroused the Romans to the resistance and overthrow of the iniquitous decem-

* Grandson of Marcus Antonius.

virate; we have heard the aged patriot Appius Claudius forbidding his countrymen to treat with a victorious enemy; we have listened to the rebukes of the Censor Cato, and seen the results of that fatal peroration — “Carthage must be destroyed”; we have been persuaded by the calm and unimpassioned eloquence of Tiberius Gracchus as he pleaded the cause of the poor, and have been stirred by the fiery and impetuous denunciations of his brother Caius as his hot and vehement eloquence hurried the masses along to the commission of indefensible violence against the ruling class; and we have felt our indignation, in opposition to our calmer judgment, rising with that of the Romans as Antony discoursed over the body of the dead Cæsar. Passing now all these names, and many others of scarcely less prominence, we shall stop to particularize only two, Hortensius and Cicero, who are easily first among the orators of ancient Rome.

Hortensius (born 114 B.C.) was a famous lawyer, whose name adorns the legal profession at the capital both as the learned jurist and the eloquent advocate. Cicero bestows rare praise upon this great orator by declaring that the excellence of his speeches was like a statue by Phidias, which only requires to be seen in order to be admired. His forensic talent won for him a lucrative law-practice, through which he gathered an immense fortune. Besides a mansion on the Palatine, he possessed several villas, which were kept up with a most profuse expenditure. The olive-trees in his gardens were sprinkled with wine, to improve the flavor of the fruit. His fish-ponds were stocked with an infinite variety of fresh and marine fish, the food and health of which were matters of greater concern to their master than the food and health of his slaves. It is told that he actually wept over the untimely death of a favorite lamprey. He surpassed the youthful Aristotle or Demosthenes in the care he bestowed upon his dress. Before presenting himself to his audience, the folds of his mantle were carefully adjusted so as to produce the most appropriate and striking

effects. Upon one occasion, as he was proceeding to the court, a man carelessly jostled him and disarranged his toga, for which the orator in great wrath instituted a suit for damages. We might overlook the idiosyncrasies and reckless expenditures of the eloquent advocate, but not so lightly can we pass the worse habit that he had of sometimes using his wealth to corrupt the courts before which he pleaded.

But the brightness of the fame of Hortensius is dimmed by the lustre of the name of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), the untiring student, the constant patriot, the polished orator. He has been called "the Edward Everett of antiquity." He enjoyed every advantage that wealth and parental ambition could confer or suggest. His teachers were the poet Archias and the orator Crassus. Like many others of the Roman patrician youth of his time, he was sent to Greece to finish his education in the schools of Athens. His mind once awakened, it ranged with ceaseless activity the wide domains of Grecian philosophy and science. Returning to Italy, he soon assumed a position of commanding influence at the Roman capital. His prosecution of Verres shows his hatred of the official corruption and venality that disgraced his times; his orations against Catiline illustrate his patriotism; his essays exhibit the wide range of his thoughts and the depth of his philosophical reflections. All his productions evince the most scrupulous care in their preparation. He was a purist in language, and is said to have sometimes spent several days hunting for a proper word or phrase. His greatest fault was his overweening vanity, which appears in all he ever wrote, as well as in every act of his life. But the times in which Cicero lived rather than the orator himself are responsible for this. The ancient Romans possessed scarcely a trace of that sense of propriety which has grown up among us, and which forbids a person's celebrating his own virtues. Self-laudation, when not too fulsome, did not grate the ears of Cicero's auditors.

Latin Historians.—Ancient Rome produced four writers of history whose works have won for them a permanent fame—Cæsar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Suetonius may also be mentioned in this place, although his writings were rather biographical than historical.*

Of Cæsar and his "Commentaries on the Gallic War," we have learned in a previous chapter. This work and his "Memoirs on the Civil War" are the productions on which his fame as a writer depends. He also prepared a Latin grammar, a book on divination, a treatise on astronomy, and, besides, composed some poems that are not without merit. But Cæsar was a man of affairs rather than a man of letters. Yet his "Commentaries" will always be mentioned along with the "Anabasis" of Xenophon, as a model of the narrative style of writing.

Sallust (86–34 B.C.) was the contemporary and friend of Cæsar. He was prætor of one of the African provinces; and, following the example of the Roman officials of his time, he amassed by harsh if not unjust exactions an immense fortune, and erected at Rome a palatial residence with extensive and beautiful gardens, which became one of the most famous resorts of the literary characters of the capital. Sallust wrote with great pains in a style that was at once clear, forcible, and picturesque. All of his periods were carefully rounded and modelled after the most approved specimens of Greek writing. The two works upon which his fame rests are the "Conspiracy of Catiline" and the "Jugurthine War." Both of these productions are reckoned among the best specimens of prose writing in the entire range of Latin literature, and are found in

* A fuller list of Roman historical authors would have to admit the name of Fabius Pictor, who lived in the age of Nævius, and was the first historian of the Latin-speaking race; that of Cato the Censor, of whose "Antiquities" we possess the merest fragments; and that of Cornelius Nepos, who wrote in the first century B.C. An admirable work entitled "The Lives of Eminent Generals" is somewhat doubtfully ascribed to the last-named author.

the hands of every classical student in the universities of Europe and America.

Livy (59 B.C.—A.D. 17) was one of the brightest ornaments of the Augustan Age. In popular esteem he holds the first place among the Latin historical authors. Herodotus among the ancient, and Macaulay among the modern, writers of historical narrative are the names with which his is most frequently compared. His greatest work is his "Annals," a history of Rome from the earliest times to the year 9 B.C. Unfortunately, all save thirty-five of the books of this admirable production—the work filled one hundred and forty-two volumes—perished during the disturbed period that followed the overthrow of the empire. Many have been the laments over "the lost books of Livy." The fragments which remain have been universally read and admired for the inimitable grace and ease of the flowing narrative. Livy loved a story equally well with Herodotus. Like the Greek historian, he was over-credulous, and relates with charming ingenuousness, without the least questioning of their credibility, all the early legends, myths, and ballads that were extant in his day, respecting the early affairs of Rome. Modern critics, among whom are Niebuhr, Arnold, and Mommsen, have shown that all the first portion of his history is entirely unreliable as a chronicle of actual events. However, it is a most entertaining account of what the Romans themselves thought and believed respecting the origin of their race, the founding of their city and state, and the deeds and virtues of their forefathers.

A little incident of the circus will pleasantly introduce to us the next historian, Tacitus, the "Roman Thucydides," of whom we wish to speak. The story is told by Pliny the Younger in one of his letters as follows: "At one of the circensian games," runs the epistle, "he [Tacitus] sat next to a stranger, who, after much discourse on various topics of learning, asked him if he was an Italian or a provincial. Tacitus replied, 'Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am.' 'Ah,' said

the man, 'pray, then, is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with?'" This passage assures us that the works of the historian had won for him an enviable fame before his death. The esteem of his own age has been succeeded by the no less ardent admiration of the present time. Tacitus was wealthy, virtuous, and eloquent. He pleaded at the bar of the Roman courts, became the son-in-law of the commander Agricola, enjoyed the life of an honored courtier, travelled widely in both the West and the East, held important offices in the provinces, received the favor of Vespasian and Titus, witnessed the degradation of Rome under the monster Domitian, lived to see the brighter age of Nerva and Trajan, and probably died soon after the close of the long and prosperous reign of the latter.

The works of Tacitus are his "Germania," a treatise on the manners and customs of the Germans; the "Life of Agricola," his "History," and his "Annals." All of these are most admirable productions, polished and graceful narratives, full of entertainment and instruction. His "Germania," written, it is thought by some, out of the fulness of knowledge derived from personal observation through service or residence on the Rhenish frontier, gives us the fullest information that we possess respecting the manners, beliefs, and social arrangements of our barbarian ancestors while they were yet living beneath their native forests. Tacitus dwells with delight upon the simple life of the uncivilized Germans, and sets their virtues in strong contrast with the immoralities of the refined and cultured Romans. The treatise on the life and campaigns of Agricola, his father-in-law, is pronounced one of the most admirable biographies in the entire round of literature. It is a work of love, appreciative, and perhaps partial—its only fault. It gives a most vivid and picturesque portrayal of the conquest of Britain and the establishment of Roman authority in that remote island. The "History" and the "Annals" cover the reigns of some of the best and some of the worst of the rulers of the early empire. The hot indignation of the virtuous and patri-

otic historian, poured out in scathing invective against a Nero and a Domitian, has caused his name to be frequently placed with those of Persius, Juvenal, and the other Roman satirists.

Suetonius (A.D. 75-160) was the biographer of the Twelve Cæsars. It is to him that we are indebted for very many of the details of the lives of these early emperors. The picture which he draws is painted in dark colors, yet it is doubtless in the main a fairly reliable portraiture of some of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced a throne.

Science, Ethics, and Philosophy.—Under this head may be grouped the names of Varro, Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Quintilian, and Phædrus.

Varro (116-26 B.C.) belongs to the later years of the republic. His almost universal knowledge has earned for him the title of "the most learned of the Romans." He witnessed the terrific scenes of the days of Sulla and Marius, of Pompey and Cæsar, of Octavius and Antony. He himself was among the proscribed in the lists of the cruel Antony, and his magnificent villas—for he had immense wealth—were confiscated. Augustus gave him back his farms, but could not restore his library, which had perished in the sack of his villas. Like many another in those turbulent times, when he saw the hopeless ruin of the republic and the establishment of despotism in its place, he sought solace in the pursuit of literature. Almost the entire circle of letters was adorned by his versatile pen: he is said to have written five hundred books. He composed treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and satire, and wrote learned volumes on matters dramatic, historical, theological, and philosophical. His most valuable production, however, was his work on agriculture, a sort of hand-book for the Italian farmer. In the preface to the work he himself thus speaks of the undertaking and its purpose: "If I had leisure, I might write these things more conveniently, which I will now explain as I am

able, thinking that I must make haste; because, if a man be a bubble of air, much more so is an old man, for now my eightieth year admonishes me to get my baggage together before I leave the world. Wherefore, as you have bought a farm, which you are desirous to render profitable by tillage, and as you ask me to take this task upon me, I will try to advise you what must be done, not only during my stay here, but after my departure."

Seneca (about A.D. 1-65), moralist and philosopher, has already come to our notice as the tutor of Nero. The act of his life which has been most severely condemned was the defence which he made of his master before the Senate for the tyrant's murder of his mother, Agrippina. Nero requited but poorly the infamous service. Seneca possessed an enormous fortune estimated at 300,000,000 sesterces, which the ever-needy emperor coveted; he accordingly accused him of taking part in a conspiracy against his life, ordered his death, and confiscated his estates. The philosopher met his fate calmly. Upon receiving the decree of his master, he opened the veins of his body, and died in his bath, whither he had retired in order that the flow of the blood might be accelerated, for it had become sluggish from age.

As a philosopher Seneca belonged to the school of the Stoics. He wrote many essays and letters, the latter intended for publication, containing lofty maxims of wisdom and virtue, which he certainly did not always follow in the conduct of his own life. He was a disbeliever in the popular religion of his countrymen, and entertained conceptions of God and his moral government not very different from the doctrines of Socrates. So admirable are his ethical teachings that it has been claimed the philosopher came under the influences of Christianity; and several letters addressed to the apostle Paul, which are still extant, were formerly referred to as proof of this fact; but these have been shown to be spurious. Besides his ethical and philosophical writings, Seneca composed ten tragedies, designed rather for reading than for the stage. Seneca's name will ever

be noted as that of a great teacher of virtue and morality to a corrupt age, whose influences upon himself all his philosophy could not wholly resist.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) is almost the only Roman who won renown as an investigator of the phenomena of nature. His life was a marvellously busy one, every moment being filled with public services, with observations, study, and writing. He seldom walked, but rode or was carried, that he might not lose a moment from his studies. At his meals and toilet he had a slave read to him. He once reproved a friend for interrupting the reader, and having him go back to correct a mispronunciation. "Did you not understand the word?" asked Pliny. "Yes," replied the friend. "That was sufficient, then," responded the philosopher. "Why take up time to repeat it? We have lost ten lines by the interruption."

Pliny lost his life in an over-zealous pursuit of science. He was in command of the Roman fleet at Misenum when occurred the eruption of Vesuvius which resulted in the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Subduing the fears of his officers, who wished to flee from the scene, Pliny employed the ships of his fleet in rescuing the inhabitants of the coast. His vessels, while engaged in this work, were covered with the hot ashes that thickened the air and fell incessantly in heavy showers. In order to gain a better view of the mountain, the philosopher ordered his sailors to put him ashore; but unfortunately he ventured too near the volcano, and was overcome and suffocated by the sulphurous exhalations.

The only work of Pliny that has been spared to us is his "Natural History," embracing thirty-seven volumes. It is a monument of untiring industry and extensive research. It contains 20,000 citations from more than two thousand volumes of various authors. It was the Roman Encyclopædia, containing all that the world then knew respecting astronomy, geography, botany, zoölogy, medicine, and the arts of painting and statuary. In this work he defends the theory of the sphericity of

the earth, and declares that it is a globe hanging, by what means supported he knows not, in vacant space.

In connection with the name of Pliny the Elder must be mentioned that of his nephew, Pliny the Younger. He succeeded to the estate, and to somewhat of the fame, of his celebrated uncle. He was a man of letters, being a graceful writer and orator, yet was not a naturalist like the first Pliny. He was a servile courtier, and wrote a eulogy upon the character of the Emperor Trajan which is filled with the most fulsome praise. The large number of his epistles, poems, histories, and tragedies indicate his industry and untiring devotion to letters.

In the year A.D. 103, Pliny was appointed proprætor of Pontus, in Asia Minor, and while he was in that office took place the famous correspondence between him and Trajan respecting the Christians in that distant province, and the best method of dealing with the new sect. The letter of Pliny to the emperor is of historical interest because of the information it contains in regard to the rapid spread of Christianity during the first century of its existence, and respecting the character of the early professors of the new faith, and the light in which they were viewed by the rulers of the Roman world. Pliny speaks of the matter as a "contagious superstition, that had seized not cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Yet he could find no fault in the converts to the new doctrines. Notwithstanding, because they steadily refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods, he ordered many to be put to death for their "inflexible obstinacy."

Marcus Aurelius the emperor and Epictetus the slave hold the first places among the ethical teachers of Rome. The former wrote his "Meditations"; but the latter, like Socrates, committed nothing to writing, so that we know of the character of his teachings only through one of his pupils, Arrian by name. Epictetus was for many years a slave at the capital, but, securing in some way his freedom, he became a teacher of philosophy. Domitian having ordered all philosophers to leave Rome,

Epictetus fled to Epirus, where he established a school in which he taught the doctrines of Stoicism. His name is inseparably linked with that of Marcus Aurelius as a teacher of the purest system of ethics that is found outside of Christianity. Epictetus and Aurelius were the last eminent representatives and expositors of the philosophy of Zeno. They were the last of the Stoics. In them Stoicism bore its consummate flower and fruit. The doctrines of the Galilean were even then fast taking possession of the Roman world; for, giving more place to the affections and all the natural instincts, they readily won the hearts of men from the cold, unsympathetic abstractions of the Grecian sage.

Quintilian (A.D. 40-118) was the one great grammarian and rhetorician that the Roman race produced. For about a quarter of a century he was the most noted lecturer at Rome on educational and literary subjects. One of the booksellers of the capital, after much persuasion, finally prevailed upon the teacher to publish his lectures. They were received with great favor, and Quintilian's "Institutes" have never ceased to be studied and copied by all succeeding writers on education and rhetoric. Not only does the work contain excellent lessons and precepts for writers, speakers, and teachers, but also a most valuable and appreciative criticism and comparison of the literatures of Greece and Rome. From the day of the fortunate publication of his lectures, their graces of style and persuasions of thought and argument have never failed to inspire in all readers of them a real love for true literary excellence, and to encourage thousands in the earnest pursuit of learning and letters.*

* The allusions which we have made to the publishing trade suggest a word respecting ancient publishers and books. There were in Rome several publishing houses, which, in their day, enjoyed a wide reputation, and conducted a very extended business. "Indeed, the antique book-trade," says Guhl, "was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times. . . . The place of the press in our literature was taken by the slaves." Through

During the reign of Tiberius, Phædrus, the Roman Æsop, wrote his fables, which were, for the most part, translations or imitations of the productions of his Grecian master. A little later, in the reign of Titus, Frontinus wrote a valuable work on the Roman system of engineering, and a still more interesting book on the Roman aqueducts. This latter work gives us much interesting information respecting those stupendous structures.

Writers of the Early Latin Church.—The Christian authors of the first three centuries, like the writers of the New Testament, employed the Greek, that being the language of learning and culture. Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and Basil are a few of the celebrated fathers of the early Church who used in their works the language of Athens. Of these Chrysostom ("golden-mouthed"), so called on account of his persuasive oratory, was perhaps the most renowned.

But, though the Greek language was first chosen as the medium for the dissemination of Christian doctrines, as the Latin tongue gradually came into more general use throughout the extended provinces of the Roman Empire the Christian authors naturally began to use the same in the composition of their works. Hence almost all the writings of the fathers of the Church produced during the last centuries of the empire were composed in Latin. From among the many names that

practice they gained surprising facility as copyists, and books were multiplied with great rapidity. And, as to the books themselves, we must bear in mind that a book in the ancient sense was simply a roll of manuscript or parchment, and contained nothing like the amount of matter held by an ordinary modern volume. Thus Cæsar's "Gallic Wars," which makes a single volume of moderate size with us, made eight Roman books. Most of the houses of the wealthy Romans contained libraries. The collection of Sannianicus Serenus, tutor of Gordian, numbered 62,000 books. There were twenty-nine public libraries in Rome established by the emperors.

adorn the Church literature of this period, we shall select only two for special mention—St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

Jerome (A.D. 342–420) was a native of Pannonia. He studied at Rome and at Constantinople, and travelled through all the provinces of the empire, from Britain to Palestine. For many years he led a monastic life at Bethlehem. His praises have ever been in all the churches, on account of his eminent services in translating the Scriptures into Latin. The present Vulgate is based upon the ancient version by Jerome.

Aurelius Augustine (A.D. 354–430) was born near Carthage, in Africa. He was the most eminent writer of the Christian Church during the later Roman period. His numerous works—sermons, commentaries, and epistles—form a perfect library of themselves; but his fame rests chiefly on his “Confessions” and his “City of God,” two of the most remarkable productions of all Christian writings. The larger part of the “Confessions” is a touching narrative of the struggles of soul that resulted in his conversion. This work is a classic in Christian literature, and has been translated into almost every language in which the Bible is read. The “City of God” is a truly wonderful work. The author writes with the fervor of an Isaiah, with the prophetic vision of the exile of Patmos. The book was written just when the Goths and Vandals were taking possession of the empire, when Rome was becoming the spoil of the barbarians. It was designed to answer the charge of the Pagans that Christianity, turning the hearts of the people away from the worship of the ancient gods, was the cause of the calamities that were befalling the Roman state. It symbolizes Rome as the city of the world, which only presumptuously can call itself the “Eternal City”; while under the figure of the City of God is portrayed the enduring nature of the Christian Church, the New Jerusalem, the truly “Eternal City.”

Roman Law and Law Literature.—Although the Latin writers in all the departments of literary effort which we have so

far reviewed, did much valuable work, yet, as we have had occasion to repeat frequently, the Roman intellect in all these directions was under Greek guidance ; its work was imitative, and throughout all its course unmarked by any great originality, boldness, or creative energy. But in another department it was different. We mean, of course, the field of legal and political science. Here the Romans ceased to be pupils and became teachers. Here they are no longer the servile imitators of the excellences of others—although they do not refuse helpful instruction—but they become creators and masters. Nations, like men, have their mission. Rome's mission was to give laws to the world.

Our knowledge of the law-system of the Romans begins with the legislation of the Twelve Tables, about 450 B.C. The laws engrossed upon these tablets must be regarded as being in the main a systemized collection of the rules and regulations that had grown up during many preceding centuries. Throughout all the republican period the laws of the state were growing less harsh and cruel, less invidious in their distinctions between the higher and lower classes of the community, and were gradually effacing the marks of their barbarous origin and becoming more liberal and scientific. From 100 B.C. to A.D. 250 lived and wrote the most famous of the Roman jurists and law-writers, who created the most remarkable law literature ever produced by any people. The great unvarying principles that underlie and regulate all social and political relations were examined, illustrated, and clearly enunciated. Gaius, Ulpian, Paulus, Papinian, and Pomponius are among the most renowned writers who, during the period just indicated, enriched by their writings and decisions this branch of Latin literature.

In the year A.D. 527 Justinian became emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire. He almost immediately entered upon the work of collecting and arranging in a systematic manner the immense mass of Roman laws and the writings of the jurists.

The undertaking was like the labor of the Twelve Tables, only infinitely greater. Since those were set up in the Forum one thousand years had passed. During these centuries the limits of Latium had expanded until they embraced three continents ; and over all these regions, with their motley populations, Rome had extended her authority and her laws. There was no possible relation of life that was not recognized and dealt with by the Roman government. Men's relations to the family, to the city, to the state, to the gods, were clearly defined and legislated upon and decreed about by senate, emperors, and municipal magistrates. During all these centuries, too, the best intellects of the nation had been busy annotating and commenting upon all this growing mass of legislation, and producing whole libraries of learned works respecting the science of jurisprudence and government in general. Bearing these things in mind, we can form some faint conception of the enormous amount of material of a legal character that had been created by the time of the subversion of the empire of the West.

Justinian committed the task of collating, revising, condensing, and harmonizing all this matter to the celebrated lawyer Tribonian, with whom were associated during the course of the work fourteen assistants. This commission began its labors in the year A.D. 528, and in five years the task was completed, and given to the world in the form of the "*Corpus Juris Civilis*," or "*Body of the Civil Law*." This consisted of three parts: the "*Code*," the "*Pandects*," and the "*Institutes*." The "*Code*" was a revised and compressed collection of all the laws, instructions to judicial officers, and opinions on legal subjects, promulgated by the different emperors since the time of Hadrian ; the "*Pandects*" (all-containing) were a digest or abridgment of the writings, opinions, and decisions of the most eminent of the old Roman jurists and lawyers. Two thousand books of thirty-nine different authors, all of whom lived between B.C. 100 and A.D. 250, were collected, and from

this enormous mass of manuscript were culled nine thousand extracts, which contained the sum and substance of all that three centuries and more of law-scholars had thought and written. These excerpts were arranged under their proper titles, and filled fifty books. This part of the "Corpus Juris" is by far the most important and interesting, as it deals with the principles of legal science, and has to do with private law, which touches the transactions of every-day life, while the "Code" is mainly concerned with public law. The "Institutes" were a condensed edition of the "Pandects," and were intended to form an elementary text-book for the use of students.

When the great work was completed, copies were furnished to all the law-schools of Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Berytus, Cæsarea, and other cities of the empire. It was the sole text-book of the youth engaged in the study of the law. That the work might not become corrupted by glosses and additions, Justinian ordered that no abbreviations should be used in copying the books, and that no commentaries should be written upon them, although translations might be made into the Greek, but these "must be close and literal versions."

The Body of the Roman Law thus preserved and transmitted was the great contribution of the Latin intellect to civilization. It has exerted a profound influence upon all the legal systems of modern Europe. During the Dark Ages its study abated; but early in the twelfth century there was a great revival of interest in it in all the law-schools of Italy, especially at Bologna. As a result of this fresh examination of the admirable system of jurisprudence of ancient Rome, the Justinian Code became the groundwork of the present law-system of Italy, of Southern France, and of Germany. It also became auxiliary law in Northern France and in Spain, while in England the laws of our Teutonic ancestors have been by it greatly influenced and modified.* Thus has Rome given laws

* Hadley's "Introduction to Roman Law," p. 25 et seq.

to all civilized peoples—thus does the once little Palatine city of the Tiber still rule the world. The religion of Judea, the arts of Greece, and the laws of Rome are three very real and potent elements in modern civilization.

Close of Latin Literature.—About the time that the Emperor Justinian at Constantinople was collecting and publishing the body of the Roman law, there appeared in Italy, under Theodoric the Ostrogoth, a writer whose name may be considered as marking the close of Latin literature. This was Boethius (A.D. 470–526), often spoken of as “the last of the Romans.” That the old Roman pride of family was not yet dead is shown by the name the philosopher bore—Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius. Theodoric was for a time his friend and patron, and made him his adviser and chief minister; but, being led to believe that Boethius was concerned in a conspiracy for the expulsion of the Goths from Italy and the re-establishment of the Roman power, he caused him to be put to death. It was while in prison awaiting his fate that Boethius wrote his famous work entitled “*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*” (“On the Consolation Afforded by Philosophy”). This work possessed a peculiar fascination for the scholars of succeeding centuries, especially for persons whose experience had taught them the instability of human affairs. King Alfred of England translated it into Anglo-Saxon for the use of his subjects, and Elizabeth, while in prison in Mary’s reign, found solace for her lonely hours by turning it into English. And its popularity is again illustrated by the fact that, out of the thirty-one books which composed the entire library of Charles V. in his retirement at Yusta, there were three copies of the “Consolation” in as many different languages.

The “Consolation of Philosophy” is the last lament of the dying Roman world. The proud race that had conquered so much of the earth, and had impressed its language, its laws, its customs, and its arts upon so many peoples, was now become

thoroughly enfeebled through luxury, despotism, and vice. All the last centuries of the empire had been marked by a sure and steady decline in the vigor and productiveness of the Latin intellect. With the fifth century came the barbarians from beyond all the frontiers of the empire. They trooped through all its provinces, and established themselves at last in every portion of France and Spain and Italy, of Britain and Africa. But the settlement of the conquering tribes was not at once effected. Throughout the fifth and sixth centuries the barbarians were on the move. All the provinces were traversed and retraversed by their savage bands. Everywhere the country was laid waste. Cities were sacked and burned. Villas were despoiled of their patrician furniture. Temples, churches, and public buildings of every kind were stripped of their treasures. The masterpieces of Grecian and Roman art were broken in pieces. The invaluable records and rolls of the museums and libraries, public and private, were scattered and lost. . So complete was the destruction of the contents of the old libraries that scarcely a single manuscript of the Roman period has been preserved in an unmutilated condition. As we have seen, it is only fragments that we now possess of many of the productions of the most eminent of the Latin writers. At last, when the fury of the invasion was over, and the rough intruders began to settle down and establish themselves amidst the smouldering ruins of the empire they had destroyed, it seemed as though art and literature and culture had disappeared forever from the face of the earth. But out of the chaos a new creation was to be formed, fairer than the one that had been destroyed. Conqueror and conquered soon begin to blend. Throughout the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries the process of intermingling and assimilation goes on. Roman and barbarian alike disappear from view ; and at last, in the ninth century, there appear new peoples and tongues—the nations and languages of modern Europe.

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